Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-96-117 *17 June 1996*

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CE: Albanian Justice Minister Meets Counterparts in Budapest

AU1506200696 Tirana ATA in English 2000 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Report by Atlant Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—Albanian Justice Minister Mr. Hektor Frasheri attended the 20th conference of justice ministers of the Council of Europe [CE] member states which was held in Budapest from June 11-12, 1996. The topic of the conference was "Efficiency and equality of civic, penal, and administrative justice."

Frasheri said that "in the Eastern European countries this phenomenon has brought about a significant increase of the work of the courts especially in the field of administrative and trade right."

There was no talk of the right of the national to complaint for an administrative act during the communist period in Albania.

Further on, Albanian minister considered the quality of the work of judiciaries as one of the aspects of the efficiency of justice, stressing that "justice ministers may and must be legally engaged in leading and controlling activities through administrative functions to ensure the maximum efficiency, without affecting the judicial activity.

During the days of the conference, Frasheri met with his Italian counterpart, Flick, Austrian Justice Minister Michalek, the Spanish Mariscal De Gante, Bulgarian Chervenyakov, with whom Albanian minister has signed various agreements.

During a meeting with the Greek Justice Minister Venizelos, Frasheri discussed problems related to the extradition of Albanian prisoners in Greece, which has been put on the way of solution (first documents for 25-30 prisoners have arrived and are being considered,) the facilitation for the granting of visas to Albanian nationals who have conflicts to solve about their assets in Greece, for which Venizelos pledged that he will again mediate in the Foreign Ministry so that the Greek Embassy in Tirana receive recommendations for an easier and quicker procedure for the visa granting.

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Albania: Constitutional Court Says 16 Jun Elections Legal

AU1706083296 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 16 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by B.M.: "Constitutional Court Says Today's Elections Valid"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday evening, the Constitutional Court rejected the suit brought by the two parties of the Center Pole against the Central Electoral Commission alleging that the elections today, on 16 June, are illegal. The suit lodged 48 hours ago is the only one that the Constitutional Court has judged and despatched in such record time. Only 10 hours after it was lodged, the two parties received notice to appear for the court proceedings. At a session that began yesterday at 1000, Arben Imami and Gaqo Apostoli appeared as the plaintiffs and the Central Electoral Commission as the accused party. The Center Pole leaders claimed that the Central Electoral Commission and the president had broken the law on 7 June in decreeing a repeat of the elections in 17 constituencies, because, under the Electoral Law, this right had supposedly lapsed on 2 June. They sought the suspension and invalidation of this decree by the Central Electoral Commission and asked for no elections to be held on 16 June. However, the Central Electoral Commission contested the case strongly. The candidates for deputy receive their "mandate" from the constituency commissions and the Central Electoral Commission only after the results come in from the constituency commissions. The suit had no legal grounds because the commission sought time to examine shortcomings and, as soon as it had taken the results into consideration, issued the proposals for their decision within 10 days. The Constitutional Court reached the conclusion that the decisions made by the Central Electoral Commission had not broken any law and that the commission had acted in full accordance with the demands of the law and within its competences. The Center Pole had "detached itself" from its Socialist allies in order to create the impression that it is for dialogue and not for violence and asked for the elections in the 17 constituencies to be a test for the repetition of the elections nationwide. However, the Democratic Party responded bitterly by calling the two Center Pole parties nonexistent. Yesterday's decision, published by the Constitutional Court headed by Rustem Gjata, has swept all this discussion from the agenda. The court has argued that the decision on the 17 constituencies, the signature on 7 June of the decree to repeat the elections, and the president's decree on the elections were in accordance with the law.

Albania: Center Pole Proposes Election Roundtable

AU1406170896 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 14 Jun 96 p 1

[Statement issued by the Social-Democratic Party and the Democratic Alliance in Tirana on 13 June: "The Center Pole's Proposal To Extract the Country From Political Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The parties of the Center Pole, prompted by the OSCE's [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] report on the 26 May elections and the assessments of other monitoring organizations such as the International Helsinki Federation, Human Rights—Helsinki Watch, etc., and standing by their statement of 26 May on boycotting the elections, once again express their conviction that free and honest elections did not take place in Albania on 26 May.

The decision of the country's president to decree elections in 17 constituencies is not a way out of the crisis. This decision is biased and unconstitutional and has not taken into consideration the position of the political parties that boycotted the elections.

In the present situation, the president and his party are not offering any proposal for a solution, but are on the contrary insisting on continuing a compromised and merely formal electoral process.

The parties of the Center Pole, committed to a thorough solution of the crisis that has been created and with the lofty purpose of conducting free and honest elections on Albania, once again offer their unreserved cooperation for this end.

The parties of the Center Pole favor a roundtable of parties participating in the elections and representatives of the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the EU, and the United States, where they would make the following proposals:

1. The participation of the political parties in elections in the 17 constituencies that have already been decided may be considered as a solution for a political consensus that will overcome the constitutional impasse. The elections in the 17 constituencies may be considered as a test of the results of 26 May. If this test overturns the results of 26 May, general elections should be automatically repeated as soon as possible.

2. The date of the elections in the 17 constituencies should be postponed in order to make time to provide monitoring of the elections by the OSCE, which will suggest the date.

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3. The OSCE will monitor all three levels of commissions in the elections in the 17 constituencies.

4. The elections will be carried out on the basis of the recommendations of the OSCE report.

5. The ballot papers, protocols, and permits for the members of the commissions and the observes should be prepared and registered by representatives of the OSCE, paid for by the Albanian state.

6. Democratic standards for equal airtime in the mass media and for the equal participation and commitment of the political parties in the electoral process should be respected.

Albania: PR Calls For Votes in 16 Jun Partial Election

AU1406193796 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 14 Jun 96 p 1

[Editorial: "The Republican Party Always Abreast of the Country's Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republican Party [PR] has made organizational preparations to take part in the polls in the 17 constituencies in which the elections will be repeated on Sunday [16 Jun]. We will compete regardless of what candidates oppose us. We have no prior arrangement with other parties, Our participation in this round does not contradict the statement made by the PR Management Committee's statement of 29 May, which the PR offered as a fair political solution to the problem as a whole.

The Republicans and the electorate voting for them must take part in Sunday's polls, despite the disappointment they suffered in the first round. Every individual has a vote and must not in any circumstances fail to use it. Otherwise he is shirking his civil duties.

The PR will continue its efforts to overcome the present political crisis through open and constructive dialogue. The political confrontations that have assumed major proportions have wearied the people and done damage to the country and to the national cause. The PR deputies first demand in the parliament will be precisely to open a political debate in defense of democracy. We must strive to create our group of deputies, as a way of promoting Republican policies in general.

We hope that the severe reproaches from European organizations and the United States will have their effect in eliminating the manipulations and irregularities widely seen on 26 May. If these are in any way repeated next Sunday, the present government must realize that it is sending the country down a blind alley.

We invite the electorate to vote for the PR, which has always put the interests of the country first. The day will come very soon when it will be proved that the position and policies of the PR are based on today's reality, which will require the use of politics as the sole means of reaching a civil understanding.

Voters, a vote for the PR is a vote for today and for the future.

Albania: PD Leader: PS Poll Withdrawal 'A Shameless Order'

AU1406204996 Tirana ATA in English 1721 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Report by I. Manka]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Berat, June 14 (ATA)—Leader of the Democratic Party of Albania [PD] Prof. Dr. Tritan Shehu today met with inhabitants of Ura Vajgurore in Berat, who are members of the 89th Constituency which will have a rerun of polls on June 16.

Present in the meeting also was the Deputy and Vice Prime Minister Dylber Vrioni and the deputy and chairwoman for PD in Berat, Kozeta Menkulasi.

"In this constituency the PD won but we observe the law and on June 16 we shall take part in the rerun of elections to win," said Shehu.

Referring to Socialist party [PS] members and sympathizers, Shehu said that PD is for an equal treatment of all because we all are Albanians and we are against class divisions, we are not for differentiations. But we didn't receive the same message from socialist electors in the rerun.

Commenting [on] the withdrawal of socialists from elections, Shehu said that such an act was a result of a shameless order which led to an abandonment of the electorate. There are moderate forces in PS, which are interested in the creation of a modern European left wing. He said that opposition parties are welcomed for dialogue but without conditions. The Albanian left wing is an extreme wing which wants to spoil the good image of Albania in Europe. Very few politicians in the world, he said, work against the interests of their country.

The democratic leader also had a meeting in the commune of Lapardha.

Albania: Berisha Assures Observers of Free Elections

AU1606163596 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 16 (ATA)—The President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha

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received on Saturday [15 June] observers from the Italian parties: Forza Italia, the National Alliance, the Christian Democratic Party of the Right, from the Party of the Union for the French Republic, from the Austrian parties: the People's Party and the Free Party, invited by the Albanian Democratic Party to observe the rerun of elections in 17 constituencies.

Berisha assured the foreign observers that, like on May 26 and June 2, the elections to be rerun in 17 constituencies will be free, fair, and transparent.

Albania: KQZ Reacts to ODIHR Report on Elections

AU1406204196 Tirana ATA in English 1916 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Press release by the Central Election Commission, issued in Tirana on 14 June]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—The Central Electoral Commission [KQZ] after familiarizing itself with the ODIHR [Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights] report is working to provide a full and detailed response to all questions raised in it.

However, what attracts one's attention in the said report is the conclusion according to which "32 articles out of 79 that had to do with the pre-electoral period and the election day were violated."

The commission does not at all exclude the shortcomings in the application of the Electoral Law and is open and ready to examine them one by one. But the above conclusion drawn on the basis of the observation of only 7 per cent of the polling stations and more over not supported by arguments has created perplexity among all the commission members. This, more over, with the ODIHR report saying nothing of the arbitrary withdrawal from the constituencies commissions and polling stations of the opposition representatives, a thing which could not but affect the credibility of the final voting outcome.

We as a commission have been open to cooperation not only with the ODIHR observers but also with others. There is no case in [which] foreign observers have not been not received, clarified or granted authorization for observation by the presidency and special commission members.

The Central Electoral Commission, as the only competent institution, together with the final announcement of the election results, will also provide assessments about the proceeding of the voting process, the law implementation, achievements and shortcomings as well as the respective recommendations. But, in advance, expressing the unanimous decision of the commission members, it can declare that the electoral law in general has been rigorously implemented and that the shortcomings in not observing it, have not seriously damaged the voting process.

Follow preliminary explanations on articles which are pretended to have been violated:

Article 4: The right to elect has been exercised in every case based on the voters' lists and in the polling stations where they have been enrolled. The commission has not claimed or observed any case with certain electors having voted more than once.

Article 13: Besides cases when the Constitutional Court's response has been expected (regarding complaints filed about the decisions of the Commission for the Scrutiny of political figures), the enrollments have generally been made on time. There have also been cases when due to the fault of the subject, the request for enrollment has been submitted with delay. In cases, when the delay has been due to objective reasons, the KQZ has decided to enroll them.

In cases when this commission has refused to enroll the candidates, the latter have addressed themselves to the Constitutional Court, which, upon finding the KQZ decision groundless, has annulled them. This is normal and we hold that it is an indication of the rigorous implementation and respect for the law, normal functioning of the competent institutions and not an indication of legalising violations.

Article 16: The above reasoning can serve to explain this article, as well. Delays in respecting the 25 day term for the candidate enrollment have been due to the above mentioned reasons. The KQZ has also encountered cases when these delays have been due to the constituency commissions that had not been ready to respond the subjects' demands on time. As regards the Sarande case, which is mentioned in point II-II of the report, the decision of the constituency commission to refuse enrollment was annulled by the Constitutional Court and the candidate was enrolled.

Article 19: Except press allegations referring to the interior minister and the ShIK [National Intelligence Service] chairman, the KQZ has received no complaint of its violation.

Articles 21 and 22: One should admit that despite the efforts made, there have been found irregularities in the voters' lists, irrespective of the measures taken by the local government competent structures. The irregularities are also linked with the movement of the Albanian population in and out of the country. Complaints, too, have been few. In general the 30-day term of announcing the lists, but the delays in

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this directions, as it is rightfully said in the ODIHR report, did not deprive the voters of the possibility to get familiarised with them at an adequate time.

Article 28: This is generally applied. However, based on complaints filed by different political subjects to the KQZ, the latter has ordered the local government structures to provide the political subjects with the lists against payment.

Article 29: This article has not been violated. The President of the Republic decreed the constituencies within the deadline also respecting other criteria envisaged by this article. Naturally, declaring the constituencies and the election date earlier would surely positively affect the well proceeding of the whole election process at different stages. However, the report's allegation that the article has been violated is groundless.

Article 31: There have been no violations. Regarding the constituencies' distribution: there has been no constituency with 12,000 or 27,000 electors as the report alleges. The number of electors varied from 18,000-24,000. We stress that great demographic movements have seriously affected this process.

So in the last two days in a constituency in which the voters' number was estimated to be 20,000, its number increased to 27,000 because of the return of the refugees from Greece. We think that in these three or four constituencies there is ground for reconsideration and we will make the proper suggestion in the proper time.

Nevertheless the attendance in the polls at about 89 per cent is meaningful enough to show the extent of the influence either in lists inaccuracy and constituency distribution.

Article 32: Although the deadline for defining the polls (no later than 20 days before the election day) was not respected, mainly due to well-known difficulties in assuring the proper environments, this did not make up an obstacle for all polls to be ready on May 26, 1996.

Article 36: The duties this article stipulates for the KQZ were met with the maximum engagement of all the members also including those of the opposition while they stayed in the commission. For the equal implementation of the Election Law all over the country, the KQZ compiled six detailed instructions which, except the way of defining the constituencies commission presidencies in which the opposition representatives had opposite views were realised in a full consensus. The KQZ instructions referred to all problems of the law beginning with the candidate enrollment, the identifying document valid for voting, rules for the local and foreign observers, those for the covering the election campaign on TV, the way of providing the election results and others. The only complaint against the KQZ is that it should have been more operating in verifying the preparatory measures for a normal holding of the all procedures, mainly before the election day.

Articles 37, 38, 39, and 40: These articles have to do with the creation and powers of the constituencies commissions and polling stations.

Despite violations in several cases of the deadlines for the creation of these commissions and delays or irregularities in taking decisions regarding the complaints filed, the commissions' performance and engagement of their members have been correct.

Naturally, one cannot exclude several technical irregularities during the voting process also linked with the knowledge extent, irregularities in estimating especially of the valid and invalid ballot papers. The latter, as rightfully noted by foreign observers, are also related to the somewhat difficult procedure of operation on the ballot paper by the voters (which remains to be adjusted in the future). But it is different to say the law has been violated and different to pretend for improvements to the law. And such cases have also been noted by the KQZ and will be made known at proper time to the competent structures.

Article 44: There has been no complaint or findings for meetings of various level commissions held without the presence of the majority of members or for decisions taken in the presence of a minority. The participation of observers in the commission has generally been guaranteed.

Article 48: There have been no cases of commission members or observes to have kept party badges or to have taken part in election propaganda activities.

Article 51: The electoral campaign began with the declaration of the election day and closed 24 hours before this day. That is, the claim that this article has been violated is groundless.

Article 53: As regards the covering of the electoral campaign on the RTV, the KQZ issued an instruction, whereas the RTV issued a programme which was improved with the remarks from the KQZ. Although the KQZ holds the RTV has carried out a good performance in covering the electoral campaign on the TV, there have been remarks from political subjects both from the ruling party and from the opposition mainly regarding the space of time.

One should also say that media (also according to the press release of the Parliamentary Assembly observers

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on May 26, 1996) "did well in informing voters of the electoral procedures."

Articles 56, 57: There have been allegations regarding participation in the campaign of foreigners invited by various parties. The commission holds that here we have more to do with a xenophobia concept than with law violation, under the new conditions of Albania's opening to the world. We have observed no distribution of propaganda material by the local government structures.

Article 60: The KQZ maintains that the police during the electoral campaign have generally made great efforts to guarantee, under difficult conditions, its normal development by all the electoral subjects. Cases have been ascertained with certain police officers surpassing or not properly exercising their powers. Regarding these cases, we are aware that the people concerned have submitted denunciations to the competent organs for penal prosecution.

Article 63: This article has not been violated. There have been no cases of propaganda materials to have been used in polling stations or of political parties headquarters or depoliticised state institutions to have been used as polling stations.

Article 64: The ODIHR report mentions several violations of technical character. However, the KQZ shares the view of the Parliamentary Assembly observer delegation that "the people responsible in the polling stations, in general have carried out their tasks normally and in compliance with the law."

Article 66: In general, the technical problems created in several polling stations due to inappropriate environments or due to the lack of the suitable conditions for a fast voting have existed and will still exist in the future, although the improvements from elections to elections are prominent.

Article 68: It is necessary, also according to the KQZ, in order to avoid the invalid ballot papers, the procedure defined in this article be changed in the future. This will also help that the voting process be fast and easy for the electors.

Article 70 and 71: There have been no complaints or observations for their violation.

Article 72, 73, 74, and 75: These are all articles dealing with the operations carried out by the polling stations commission when the voting is over. It is true, violations and irregularities have been observed in the counting process and especially in assessing the ballot papers (valid or invalid). Although the ODIHR report generally speaks of these violations, a part of them have been ascertained. In view of the aforesaid findings, the KQZ, which is working seriously and with responsibility, at its own initiative, initially decided not to recognize the election results in four constituencies, ordering their repetition (at a time when the international institutions had not yet expressed in favour of a partial annulment of the elections). Later, as it is already known, at the request of the President of the Republic and based on complaints from different electoral subjects, the KQZ ,checking in detail all the documentation of a great number of constituencies and polling stations, decided to annul and rerun the vote in 13 other constituencies.

This is the truth regarding the allegations for massive violation of the law on elections.

The KQZ, once again, respecting all international and local organizations regarding the expressed remarks and views on the process of elections in Albania, expressed readiness and is open to cooperation with all, also including the ODIHR observers, convinced that in this way it serves the democratic processes in Albania.

Albania: Commission Reports 60-Percent Voter Turnout

AU1606205896 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Shortly before the elections were over, reports from the Central Election Commission [KQZ], although not final, confirmed a 60 percent turnout of the 300,000 voters who cast their ballots today.

Thus in Lushnje over 75 percent of voters participated in the polls; in Peqin 75 percent; in Puke 70 percent; in Mat 67 percent; in Libofshe 61 percent; in Vlore 65 percent; in Elbasan 64 percent; in Berat 65 percent; in Kucove 61 percent; in Ure Vajgurore 60 percent; in Vore 62 percent; in Korce 57 percent; in Delvine 64 percent; and in Sarande over 50 percent.

In its later reports the KQZ is expected to announce more precise information on the participation in today's voting. Meanwhile, the process of counting the votes has started in all polling stations. The results are expected to be given tomorrow.

According to various sources, today's elections proceeded calmly and in accordance with the law. They were monitored by a large number of home and foreign observers. Observers from the EDU [European Democratic Union] and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] were also present, and confirmed the good standards of the elections proceedings in this round.

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Albania: Deputy PM Denies Left-Wing Claim He Hit Reporter

AU1606191096 Tirana ATA in English 1749 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 16 (ATA)—Albanian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Construction and Tourism Dashamir Shehi today told ATA he had not hit reporter Frrok Cupi.

The statement followed the publication today by left wing papers, KOHA JONE. ZERI I POPULLIT, and POLI I QENDRES of a report saying that last Saturday [8 June] at about 1500 Shehi had physically attacked the journalist, Frrok Cupi, at a bar in Tirana.

"Citing" Shehi, the above papers say the latter hit and threatened Cupi after an article Cupi had published in KOHA JONE, in which he declared that "Shehi had been Cupi's bodyguard when the latter was chief editor of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE."

"For the above misinformation I will address myself to the judiciary," said Shehi to ATA.

Albania: Spokesman: Berisha Did Not Met Castro in Istanbul

AU1606173996 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on the fraud published in the leaflet of the red fundamentalists, ZERI I POPULLIT [ZP], on an alleged meeting in Istanbul between President Berisha and their spiritual ally Fidel Castro, the spokesman of the president of the Republic declares that during his stay in Istanbul at the UN Habitat II conference the president of the Republic held no meeting with chairman Castro or any other head of state or prime minister besides those about whom the Albanian public has been informed. Such misinformation, the spokesman of the president of the Republic stresses, clearly expresses the amorality of the red fundamentalists.

Albania: Six Former Communist Officials on Trial in Tirana

AU1406090396 Tirana ATA in English 1607 GMT 13 Jun 96

[Report by Atlant Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 13 (ATA)—Twenty five years in jail for Foto Cami and Prokop Murra, 20 years for Muho Asllani, 18 years for Gaqo Nesho and Zef Loka, and 16 years in prison for Dilaver Bengasi were the sentences that prosecutors Adnan Xhelili and Shkelqim Canaj requested in today's court session for these defendants.

Xhelili and Ganaj demanded from the court to cease the case for these defendants for the penal act of genocide, envisaged in Article 73 of the Penal Code, asking sentences for them only for the penal act of crimes against humanity, in cooperation.

According to Articles 74, 67 and 25 of the Penal Code, sentences for these penal acts range from 10 years in prison to death penalty.

Six former PLA [Party of Labor of Albania] senior officials Foto Cami, Prokop Murra, and Muho Asllani, former PLA Politbureau members, Gaqo Nesho, former PLA first secretary in Vlore and in Tirana, Zef Loka, former director of the Interior Affairs Department of Tirana, and Dilaver Bengasi, former deputy interior minister in the period of communist dictatorship in Albania, were brought to court after a testimony from the Forum of Independent Intellectuals to the Tirana District Prosecutor's Office.

Right after the testimonies, the Prosecutor's Office started investigations. It accused the defendants of genocide and crimes against humanity in cooperation in the time when they were in high PLA and state posts.

After hearing the final conclusions by the prosecutors, the jury, led by the judge Petrit Kaja, decided that hearing of the defendants and their defence attorneys be held on June 19, 1996.

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Bulgaria: Zhelev Addresses Nation on No-Confidence Vote

AU1406165396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Address to the nation by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Compatriots. Yesterday's no-confidence vote in the National Assembly stunned democratic Bulgaria. At least 11 members of the opposition voted for confidence in Zhan Videnov's cabinet, for which he duly thanked them.

Like millions of other Bulgarians, I also made my contribution to forming a united and strong opposition. I mean opposition, and not collaborators with Bulgaria's most-lethal government since 1989.

The opposition must act as an instrument to correct the government rather than as its accomplice. Therefore, it must always present alternative programs and teams. Everything else is a false pretense.

The wave of public indignation will sweep over this opposition if it continues to view the government as a means of achieving personal profit rather than as a means of leading the country out of the most horrible crisis since the end of World War II.

Zhan Videnov's government deprived the people of their bread. The no-confidence vote, conducted yesterday at the National Assembly, deprived them of their hopes.

Bulgaria: Zhelev's Delegation Joins Talks With NATO

AU1706123996 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 17 Jun 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "President's People Negotiate With NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week Lea Koen (Bulgarian ambassador to Belgium), informed the Foreign Ministry that a delegation of the Presidency will join the intensified dialogue with NATO.

The second round of the talk begins today in Brussels. KONTINENT learned that the Foreign Ministry was surprised by Ambassador Koen's fax message. The talks in NATO headquarters are being conducted between Gerhard von Moltke, NATO deputy general secretary, and representatives of the Bulgarian Government, not the Presidency.

The negotiations officially began on 6 May after the cabinet adopted a program on the intensified dialogue with NATO. The date at which the second round should begin—17 June—was confirmed in Brussels 10 days ago. The reforms in the army, its budget, the military doctrine, and national security will be discussed.

The president's people led by military adviser General Stefan Dimitrov, will arrive in Brussels on 18 June, when the consultations will already be over, the Foreign Ministry warned.

Bulgaria: Possible Influence of Russian Elections Viewed

AU1706093096 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Jun 96 p 4

[Article by Svetoslav Terziev: "Will Zyuganov Turn His Eyes Toward Bulgaria?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The results of the presidential elections in Russia will influence our country more than the results of our own presidential elections. This is obvious not only because the Bulgarian head of state has limited prerogatives, while the Russian president has great prerogatives. The more important fact is that every turning point in Moscow in the last century has been of fateful importance for Bulgaria.

Many people think that a new turning point is imminent. Recently, Yegor Gaydar, former Russian prime minister, visited Bulgaria and afterward warned the Russians that they can expect Bulgaria's fate if they vote for Yevgeniy Zyuganov. As an example, he cited the bread queues, for which he blamed Zhan Videnov's leftist government. But what will happen in Bulgaria if Zyuganov takes power?

The political fans in the Bulgarian stadium are already seated in different sections of the stadium. In sector A, where the big ones are sitting, there is Videnov with his circle of friends and the government. They are rooting for Zyuganov's team. It is not clear what they will receive if Zyuganov wins, however, it is certain that a Yeltsin victory will delight their opponents in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in Lukanov's group and the opposition as well.

Videnov feels rather lonely on the international stage after the financial institutions twisted his arm. Therefore, he instinctively seeks support in Moscow, as well as the revival of the old friendship. His trip to China convinced him that it is difficult to find generous friends and that the only thing left is to hope for the understanding of kindred political souls among the traditional brothers.

The united opposition is sitting in another part of the stadium. They, as a rule, do not have great sympathy for Russia and do not expect any favors for themselves from Zyuganov or Yeltsin, whom they cursed rather

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unreservedly after his fleeting remark inviting Bulgaria to join USSR-2. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] people will follow the presidential election match in the United States with far greater pleasure. Whoever wins there will be an American, i.e. a sympathetic fellow. However, the elections there are in November, and now they have to choose the lesser evil. This is the incumbent President Boris Yeltsin, who fears communist retribution just as the SDS people do. If not the love for Russia, at least the common fear brings our opposition close to the Kremlin's current masters.

In another section of the stadium there are the hard-line Communists, who are nostalgic for the past. The perestroychiks, who have much to lose if the Russian Communists return to power, are sitting in an opposing section. The former undoubtedly long for a Zyuganov victory, because they hope for a revenge. If Moscow gives the right signal, many people in Bulgaria will be encouraged to ask our reformers to account for their chaotic policy.

However, this only is the political aspect of the fans' emotions. The most important thing is who will win or lose their bets. If Yeltsin goes, the Gazprom bosses who privatized not only the gas but almost all of Russia, will also go. In Bulgaria, this will be a blow for the people around Lukanov—Topenergy, Overgas, and Multigroup. Many Russian nouveau riches transferred their billions abroad, and moved their palaces abroad, together with their families, to follow the election struggle in the motherland from there. They have no doubt that Zyuganov will ask them to account for their profits in recent years, and thus they have every reason to be concerned regarding their freedom.

The escape of the Russian businessmen would require a regrouping of their Bulgarian partners. Those who traded intensely with Russia in recent years will have to relinquish their trade deals or at least await the developments promised by Zyuganov. A question mark will arise over the fate of certain new banks in Bulgaria.

As far as the simple Bulgarian is concerned, his situation will not change, regardless of who wins the Russian elections. Russia is engulfed in a grave crisis and mass misery and will need many years to stabilize. In the long term, the Bulgarians are interested in friendship with Russia, but, at present, it is useful to keep our distance, because chaos in the big states easily infects small states.

Bulgaria: Pirinski Named BSP Presidential Candidate

AU1706080996 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 17 Jun 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Svetlana Belousova; "Videnov Capitulated—Pirinski Named BSP Presidential Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, after 10 hours of scandal, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] elected Georgi Pirinski candidate for president.

With 70 votes for and 16 abstentions, Mr. Pirinski swept the hall. Only Valentin Vatsev, Mr. Videnov's ideologue, opposed.

The prime minister and Mr. Lilov voted for Pirinski. Vatsev said his opposition was based on "political, judicial, and moral considerations," but he did not elaborate.

The BSP Supreme Council held a vote by roll call after 10 hours of quarreling led to a dead end.

At the ninth hour, precisely at 1800 [1500 GMT], Pirinski couldn't take it any longer: He took the floor and refused to be the BSP presidential candidate. "I do not want to evoke your suspicions," he said. The minister also pointed out that the BSP Executive Bureau did not firmly support him.

Immediately after Pirinski's emotional outburst, Georgi Purvanov [BSP deputy chairman] reproached the BSP Supreme Council for lacking the political will to implement the proposal of the BSP lower organizations.

Mariyana Khristova and Ivan Genov were the only ones to say that Pirinski must withdraw because of the risk that the Constitutional Court could annul the elections if he were to win.

Yanaki Stoilov's commission [to check candidates' eligibility in accordance with constitutional requirements] did not give a clear answer to the question of whether Pirinski is a Bulgarian citizen by birth, but yesterday the BSP Supreme Council decided that his candidacy does not violate the Constitution.

Dissatisfied, Pirinski announced that there had not been a full-fledged dialogue between himself and the party. He was asked for the first time whether he wanted to be the BSP presidential candidate only at the end of May.

He described the procedure of nominating him as belated. A few hours before the plenum, he was briefed on the interpretation of the judicial matter, which to a large degree was actually created by party circles.

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According to the procedure, Pirinski himself must choose the vice presidential candidate. "Give me a week to consult the Supreme Council, the Democratic Left, and the Executive Bureau on the candidate for vice president," Pirinski said.

Bulgaria: Presidential Candidate Pirinski Interviewed

AU1706124996 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Jun 96 p 1

[Interview with Georgi Pirinski, foreign minister and BSP presidential candidate, by Tanya Geneva in Sofia on 16 June: "Head of State Is National Figure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Geneva] What is more important for you—the almost absolute support you received from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, which was expressed through voting by name, or all the risks and "pitfalls," invoked in the discussion, which lasted 10 hours?

[Pirinski] I think that there is no comparison between the two groups of factors. The support I received is of decisive importance for me. All the complications and pitfalls belong to a different category. The political confidence in my candidacy is much more important for me and is of much greater value.

[Geneva] What do you think is the most important principle on which the new head of state should rely?

[Pirinski] He definitely must demonstrate his role precisely as head of state, a national figure who personifies the nation's unity. Unfortunately, the incumbent head of state took one side too often. I think that the only side the president can take is the side of the Constitution, the national interests, and the national consensus.

[Geneva] During the discussion at 20 Positano Street [Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters], it was concluded that it was the first time since 1990 that the party had demonstrated such unity on a candidacy, and shown such a high degree of consolidation. Is this a commendation, a compliment, or an obligation for you?

[Pirinski] I view it as a great obligation, which I must fulfill, because it represents the confidence that was expressed in me. I also view it as a good initial foundation for a victorious presidential campaign.

Bulgaria: BSP Plenum Effects Changes in Executive Bureau

AU1706070096 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 17 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During the night, Nikolay Dobrev, Filip Bokov, Iskra Baeva, Nikola Koychev, Mariyana Khristova, Vasil Kalinov, Ivan Khristov, Violeta Vasileva, and Nikolay Kamov were elected as members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Executive Bureau after a secret vote held by the BSP Supreme Council, the BSP Press Center reports.

The four BSP deputy chairmen—Doncho Konakchiev, Georgi Purvanov, Yanaki Stoilov, and Krasimir Premyanov—remain members of the BSP Executive Bureau.

Klara Marinova, Anton Grigorov, Kiril Zhelev, Yuriy Borisov, Lyubomir Kolarov, and Miroslav Popov lost their places on the BSP Executive Bureau.

Bulgaria: Chances of Opposition Staying United Assessed

AU1406154196 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian 13-19 Jun 96 No 23, p 19

[Article by Ivaylo Kutov: "United Opposition—The Riddle in the Coming Months"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Public interest in the opposition experienced a surge at the time of the opposition primaries, but subsequently seems to have disappeared among the day-to-day problems of bread, the banks, and cabinet shuffles. Quite logically, the leaders of the parliamentary opposition are doing their utmost to utilize the small remaining inertia following Petur Stoyanov's victory for the purpose of unification. At first glance, it appears that since 1 June Mozer, Savov, Kostov, and Dogan have been more united than ever. However, people with inside knowledge of the opposition know that from now on centripetal separatist tendencies will appear in the coming months.

Let us consider this matter briefly.

Albeit somewhat unwillingly and belatedly, Dr. Zhelev accepted the result of the 1 June primaries and promised to work in support of the single united candidature. One had the impression that he neglected to congratulate his partner and rival. The incumbent president did not calculate on the categorical decisions of the People's Union of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and Democratic Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] to observe the agreement and accept the election result. However, in the future it cannot be ruled out that opponents of the united candidature from the Left's camp with manipulative intentions may raise a smokescreen of "pro-Zhelev" propaganda, mainly with two tactical aims [as published]: to "stiffen" the resolve of the small section of Zhelev's personal supporters among the electorate not to cast their votes for Petur Stoyanov in the autumn. However modest the personal support that Dr. Zhelev enjoys, he may

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exert an influence. In the event that the fight between the main two candidates at the actual presidential elections proves to be bitter and equally matched, Dr. Zhelev may be tempted, despite everything, at a certain juncture to announce that he will run himself. In such a case, however, he will not achieve any better result that that obtained by Mikhail Gorbachev in Russia.

As foreseen, trouble has also started for BZNS leader Anastasiya Dimitrova-Mozer. The replacement of the head of the Agrarians' Ruling Council on Sunday 9 June was evidently indirectly aimed against her. In the meantime, sharp clashes are expected at the top levels of the BZNS on the issue of the vice-presidential nomination. Despite the burning desire of certain circles in the SDS to drive a wedge between the two parties making up the People's Union, Mrs. Mozer's personal image (she provides the public face of the BZNS) and the balancing political role of the Democratic Party are expected to preserve stability in the People's Union.

The DPS, whose electors voted for Dr. Zhelev on 1 June, thus sent a clear signal that the movement's realignment to support Petur Stoyanov will from now on be a matter for negotiation and concessions.

Meanwhile, the suggestion is coming with increasing force from the SDS leadership that the SDS structures, the People's Union of the BZNS and Democratic Party, and the DPS should be transformed into a kind of organized megacoalition, not only for the purpose of winning the presidential elections in the autumn, but also for the subsequent parliamentary elections. This will imply common lists of candidates for the seats fought by the proportional system or common candidates at the first-past-the-post elections. However, these unofficial overtures from the SDS are not exactly being received with delight by the People's Union and the DPS. For their part, Mozer, Savov, and Dogan are worried about the prospect of being swallowed by the SDS. The suspiciousness of all the partners makes questionable whether the political, financial, and organizational preparations for the actual presidential elections will be carried out in a sound manner.

The indeterminate prospects of the united opposition for winning the elections will become clearer from now on. At the same time, the stability of this formation remains an enigma and a conundrum.

Bulgaria: Finance Minister Refuses To Help Mineralbank

AU1406151596 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 14 Jun 96 p 9

[Interview with Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Dimitur Kostov: State Does Not Have Money To Pay Mineralbank Debts Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [STANDART NEWS] Mr. Kostov what steps will you adopt to resolve the issue of Mineralbank's debt to the Japanese Industrial Bank?

[Kostov] What do you mean? Why should the Bulgarian Government adopt any measures since we gave no guarantees to the Bulgarian banks regarding Mineralbank's debts to them? Why should we then commit ourselves to the Japanese credit institutions?

[STANDART NEWS] But the Japanese are threatening us with international isolation if we do not pay our debt.

[Kostov] First of all, there is the question of whether we have money at all to do this. I think that you could guess alone whether we have the money or not. One must check what the agreements regarding our commitments to the London Club banks say about this. There is a stipulation regarding the treatment of foreign creditors. Then we must clarify whether all this means that we must pay a single Japanese bank or all Japanese credit institutions. Then the problem with the other Japanese creditors will emerge.

[STANDART NEWS] Representatives of the Japanese Industrial Bank are claiming that they hoped the state would guarantee Mineralbank's foreign debts, as the state owns 80 percent of the bank.

[Kostov] One must remember that relations between the two credit institutions were of commercial character, regardless of the fact that the state controls Mineralbank's shares. I think that the state suffered enough by losing its property in Mineralbank. The Bulgarians are also suffering enough because of this bank's insolvency. This is a commercial fact. Commercial disputes are regulated through commercial legislation.

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Czech Republic: Officials Expect NATO Entry in 3 Years

AU1606155096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by "(gag)": "The Republic Could Be in NATO in Three Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Czech Republic could be admitted into the North Atlantic Alliance in three years. This follows on from the plan for the Army's gradual incorporation into the alliance's structures. "However, this will definitely not be before 1999," said Hynek Fajmon, director of the Foreign Ministry's security policy department, in reference to this possibility.

The Republic will evidently be invited into the prestigious NATO armament committee as early as this year, and it is expected that it will soon be incorporated into several other committees. If this happens, the country's actual entry into the alliance will just be a formality. "If we were to become a member of the armament committee, this would indeed be an achievement for us," said Jaroslav Janda from the Institute for International Relations.

The Republic could thus be in NATO factually before the political and legal decision on this is made, in particular because the armed forces' armament and equipment could correspond to the standards of Western armies even before 1999.

Of course, Janda thinks it is equally important for the Republic also to be invited into the other NATO committees, for communications and information systems or air defense. According to Hynek Fajmon from the Foreign Ministry, the Republic's gradual integration into the alliance is also conditional upon other steps. One of these is, for example, the adoption of a law on secrecy. "Only then will we obtain state-of-the-art information," added Fajmon.

Domestic industry may also benefit from membership in the armament committee; information on the arms technology of Western firms, so far unavailable to it, would become accessible. The experts anticipate that this step will also facilitate the export of Czech weapons to NATO countries. At the same time, however, they are allowing for a considerable rise in the import of the alliance's state-of-the-art weapon systems.

Given the country's gradual incorporation into the alliance, the government and parliament also have to take public opinion into consideration. According to the most recent poll conducted by the Factum agency, only 18 percent of people support the country's entry into NATO. They automatically associate this step with the deployment of nuclear weapons on the Republic's territory. Just yesterday, however, NATO officials confirmed that the alliance is not considering deploying its nuclear arsenal on the territory of the new member countries.

Czech Republic: President on Coalition Talks, Other Issues

LD1606152796 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 16 Jun 96

["Regular" Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Robert Tamchyna; place not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] How much has your state of health kept you away from political events in our country? Are you following the [postelection] coalition talks?

[Havel] Naturally, I have been following them, not only through the media but also through my presidential office. However, it is true that I have fallen ill at the wrong moment, and I am afraid it is probably going to go on like this until next week. I have been attacked by some kind of bacilli or viruses. I have work to do but, unfortunately, it has to wait.

However, at this stage there is no need of my direct intervention in the talks. It is enough if I follow them as I naturally do even when attacked by bacilli.

[Tamchyna] Do you think, President, that these coalition talks are proceeding as they should? [passage omitted]

[Havel] I think the talks are calm and matter-of-fact. [passage omitted] I think they are following the normal course that could have been expected, which is followed in any country when, after elections, a coalition needs to be formed and a consensus found.

These talks are calm, and it seems that they have been progressing gradually. Nobody could have expected everything to be agreed upon and solved in two days. That is not possible. There is a real need to work out a clear coalition agreement, to agree on a draft government program and the government's composition, and to decide about posts in the parliament. All of these things take time, given that so many players need to agree on them.

The more thorough these talks are, the greater the hope is that, in the end, they will give birth to a stable and firm government that will more or less enjoy the parliament's confidence and will be capable of action. This is worth those few days or weeks of talks and haggling.

[Tamchyna] You have mentioned, President, that one of the issues is who will hold certain posts in the

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parliament. What do you think about a demand made by the Social Democrats that some senior posts are held by deputies representing the Communist Party [of Bohemia and Moravia] and the Republicans [Association for the Republic—Republican Party of Czechoslovakia]?

[Havel] I think that this touches on the question of the idea of democracy. I think that one should not perceive democracy as a state being represented by all.

People naturally have the right to have minority views and express them through the elections, resulting in these minority views being represented in the parliament by some deputies. This is an entirely legitimate part of democracy.

However, once an overwhelming number of our representatives agree on our state's fundamental orientation, on our state's fundamental foreign policy orientation, I do not think it is good to have somebody representing a force with an entirely different view of the nature of our state and its foreign policy orientation holding a post in which he must represent our state as a whole.

They naturally have the right to express their views in the parliament, in its committees, and at the plenary sessions, but theirs are not majority views. Imagine a situation in which the chairmen of individual committees representing our state during their visits abroad each saying something different, contradicting each other, expressing his own, let us say, minority views, instead of expressing what is the basis of consensus.

Democracy is the area of consensus on which a state's orientation and similar things are based. I think the posts of a representative nature should be held by people who share this broad consensus.

[Tamchyna] Why do you think the strongest opposition party has made such a demand?

[Havel] I would not like to ascribe any ulterior motives to the Social Democrats or anybody else. This might merely be a question of what I would call the arithmetical concept of democracy.

[Tamchyna] You and your office are, Mr. President, perceived as the guardians of political culture in the country. Could you from this point of view assess the postelection developments in the Czech Republic so far?

[Havel] I think these developments have more or less shown the maturity of our political scene and its political culture. Even in much older and mature democracies one can see things that are not happening in our country. I think that the situation is good, with the exception of certain excesses.

Some of them are sad, such as when the leader of the second-biggest party [Social Democratic leader Milos Zeman] compares our prime minister to Hitler. I think this has really gone beyond what I consider political culture.

Let us hope that, among [party] leaders, the responsibility and will to reach understanding will prevail over such personal antipathy.

Czech Republic: Coalition Parties Agree on Economic Policy

LD1406143996 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairmen of the parties of the current coalition ended talks on forming the new minority government. Ondrej Kopa reports:

[Kopa] The talks of the three-party coalition here in Kramarova Villa, which lasted almost six hours, ended without any result. ODS [Civic Democratic Alliance] Chairman Vaclav Klaus said that the talks focused on the content of the coalition agreement. The three chairmen—Vaclav Klaus, Josef Lux [KDU-CSL (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) and Jan Kalvoda [ODA (Civic Democratic Party)], have managed to agree on the issues of housing, health care, transportation, agriculture, the economy, and social policy. Apart from this consensus, the chairmen of the three coalition parties have failed to come to any conclusion.

Apparently, the issue of the composition of the government was not discussed at all today. The demand of the ODS to have a majority in the government was not discussed, either. The only concrete result is an agreement on the date of the first session of the Chamber of Deputies, which is due to take place on 25 June.

The coalition talks between the chairmen of the ODS, the KDU-CSL, and ODA are due to continue on 17 June.

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Slovakia: Meciar To 'Convalesce Further'; No Friday Interview

LD1406175796 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed listeners, this is the time when we usually broadcast the regular Friday interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

The information department of the government's office has announced that Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's state of health has now considerably improved. However, taking into account his overall physical state [stav organismu] after several not properly treated cases of flu, and given his extraordinary work efforts during the last few years, his doctors have recommended that the prime minister convalesce further.

We are using this quote from a statement by Magda Pospisilova, the prime minister's spokeswoman, as an explanation [as to why no interview with Prime Minister Meciar will be broadcast today].

Slovakia: Spokeswoman Denies Rumors About Meciar's Health

AU1406134196 Bratislava NOVY CAS in Slovak 13 Jun 96 p 2

[Report by "jam": "Absolute Nonsense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to some rumors, Vladimir Meciar was in Switzerland last week, allegedly to have his diagnosis (brain tumor) verified. The result was supposedly negative. Magda Pospisilova, the prime minister's spokeswoman, told us about this: "All of this is absolute nonsense and I no longer intend to make any comments in this respect."

Slovakia: Press on Political Impact of Meciar's 'Illness'

AU1406161096

[FBIS Report] Slovak newspapers on 13 and 14 June publish reports and commentaries on the impact on the political scene of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's long-term absence, caused by his "long-lasting illness."

Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 13 June on page 1 carries a 400-word commentary by Jergus Ferko, which states: "Vladimir Meciar's long-lasting illness has again confirmed the importance of his role in the coalition. Several days of his absence from politics were enough for many affairs that had been hidden under a veil to become public—particularly those with a privatization background. It suffices to mention the ultimatum-like Slovak National Party [SNS] statement [of 1 June] or the mess surrounding Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company].

"The prime minister's illness has not only highlighted the importance of his person for the coalition's cohesion but has also contributed to an evident change in the political atmosphere. Unlike several months ago, the possibility is now being conceded of the opposition being represented in some bodies, particularly in the Special Supervisory Body that monitors the activity of the secret service. The second significant change is the new position of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], the new leadership of which, headed by Jozef Migas, has clearly separated the SDL from the so-called opposition hard core (Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and Democratic Union [DU]). As a result, the opposition's split into three fundamental streams has been fixed, with the Hungarian Coalition representing the third stream." Another indicator of the "changed atmosphere," Ferko says in conclusion, is that "National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Chairman Ivan Gasparovic decided not to include three controversial bills on the agenda of the 16th NRSR meeting, which opens on 19 June—the bill on territorial and administrative arrangement, the foundations bill, and the Penal Code amendment. This step indicates a new position of the chessmen on the chessboard of political agreements, one that may lead to a surprising denouement in a short time. Maybe even in the conflict between the president and the coalition, which is traumatizing Slovak society so much."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 13 June on page 3 carries a 250-word report by "rej" on a Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] briefing in Bratislava on 12 June, which states: "According to MKDH Deputy Chairman Pal Csaky, it is necessary to prepare for the post-Meciar era. As he said, there are certain signs that Vladimir Meciar's disease could affect his political activity not only in the near future, but also in the longer term. He described as remarkable the way in which his coalition partners and collaborators are reacting to this. The disagreements within the government coalition are not coincidental in his opinion because, when power is exercised as it is exercised in Slovakia, it inevitably leads to crisis. Pal Csaky expects that, when the culprit responsible for the preceding period is sought, it will be Vladimir Meciar who will be blamed even by his present closest collaborators."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 13 June on page 9 carries a 600-word commentary by Ivan Horsky entitled "War of the Diadochi in Slovakia?" Horsky opens the commentary by saying: "It is evident, given the persisting disease of Vladimir Meciar—the prognoses of which, according to information traded

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on the political stock exchange, are very uncertain—that persons who have until now been the numbers two, three, or four in the ruling movement are trying to build for themselves the most advantageous positions for the 'day after.'" To illustrate the point, Horsky refers to HZDS Deputy Chairwoman Olga Keltosova's statement that the HZDS should try to win the next elections so as not to have to share power with any coalition partners, and to HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik's endeavor to "improve his position" by gaining control over Slovenska Poistovna. Slovak Information Service [SIS] Director Ivan Lexa, another "pretender to the throne," is not idle either, according to Horsky, and "is doing everything he can not to be eliminated from the race." In this context, Horsky says: "Evidence of this could be the playing of a recording of Sergej Kozlik's wiretapped conversation about the Slovenska Poistovna affair into the hands of SNS Chairman Slota. Yet it is also possible that this operation, as well as the publication of the compromising Lexa-Hudek telephone conversation, comes from an entirely different workshop—that of the [HZDS] boss, who is trying in this way to keep all his potential successors at bay."

In conclusion, Horsky compares the present situation in Slovakia with the rule of Alexander the Great, who died before he could appoint a successor. Horsky says: "As is known, the rule of Alexander the Great ended with individual leaders, the Diadochi, waging among themselves a war for succession, which ultimately led to the collapse of the great empire and its partition into individual satrapies, which soon succumbed to the superiority of their previously suppressed adversaries. It seems that this situation could be repeated in Slovakia."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 14 June on page 2 carries a 200-word report by "rej" entitled "Hungarian Civic Party [MOS]: Period of Instability Is Starting." The report reads: "MOS Deputy Chairman L. Gyurovszky yesterday voiced the fear that Slovakia is entering a period of instability. 'It seems that chaos is setting in in Slovakia. It is not in the powers of the government coalition to conceal the internal disagreements any longer. Mr. Meciar's disease only contributes to this,' he said. L. Gyurovszky expects that, even if some compromise is reached with regard to privatization issues and the situation calms down, the development is heading toward the breakup of the government coalition. 'Nothing can be seen here that could lead to a long-term calming down of the situation,' he said. The government coalition is not held together by any idea, and its cohesion is also weakened by Vladimir Meciar's eroded authority. L. Gyurovszky considers three alternatives of further development to be possible—early elections, the HZDS's endeavor to replace the SNS with the tacit support of other parliamentary parties, and the breakup of the HZDS, followed by a regrouping of forces."

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Hungary: Keleti on NATO Membership for Hungary, Romania

AU1406150396 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Jun 96 p 3

[FBIS Translated Text] It would be ideal for European security if both Hungary and Romania became members of NATO, declared Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti in an interview published in the 13 June issue of SZABADSAG, a Hungarian-language daily published in Kolozsvar [Cluj, Romania]. Gyorgy Keleti said that the Hungarian position has always been that joining NATO will not take place "hand in hand."

"Every country should shape its policy independently—its minority policy, for example—in a way to make it eligible for NATO membership," a decision that will be made at the beginning of next year at the latest. Gyorgy Keleti denied the views of certain Romanian circles that nonsimultaneous acceptance of the two countries into NATO would lead to an arms race. Keleti stated that, on the contrary, Hungary's endeavoring to reduce its army. As for Bucharest's fears that Hungary would hinder Romania's acceptance into NATO if Hungary made it first, Keleti said Hungary would evaluate everything exclusively according to considerations similar to the other NATO members.

Criteria for NATO membership was one of the main subjects of the aforementioned interview. Speaking about the requirements formulated by U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in the course of his visit to Hungary last year, Gyorgy Keleti said that William Perry regarded democratic restructuring, including guarantees for minority rights, the financial-economic situation, and civil control over the army as major requirements. Civil control over the army means that the army should not get into a situation of making independent decisions.

Asked whether the two countries will be regarded as having good-neighborly relations, even without a basic treaty, Gyorgy Keleti declared that he regarded the signing of a basic treaty as desirable. At the same time, he pointed out that although it is our goal to sign such a treaty, Hungary cannot allow the exclusion of certain decisive formulations from the text of the treaty: negotiations on this have been going on for quite some time. Gyorgy Keleti praised the Hungarian-Romanian military cooperation and its contribution to the possible signing of the basic treaty.

Hungary: Editorial Assesses Significance of Kovac Visit

AU1406154696 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jun 96 p 3

[Editorial by Pal E. Feher: "First Time in Budapest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the current domestic political situation in Slovakia, it is impossible for President Michal Kovac to get the kind of applause in the Bratislava parliament that he received in Budapest. His tense relationship with Prime Minister Meciar and the governing coalition and the fact that the executive power actually wants to replace him are not the only reasons. What he had to say would not have been very welcome to a great many Slovak deputies who, although they reluctantly passed the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, demanded and are demanding in exchange antiminority laws that would nullify the goal of the basic treaty. However, Kovac promised a full implementation of the basic treaty, together with guarantees of the legislation and connecting systems that are essential for the implementation. At the same time, he could not have forgotten the fact that, due to Bratislava's wrangle about the basic treaty's ratification, he got to Beijing earlier than to Budapest, which implies a rather strange political geography.

The symbolic value of the visit of the president of the Slovak Republic must not be underestimated. This was the first time the independent Slovak state's highest dignitary paid an official visit to Budapest. The meaning of this is clear: Historic reconciliation is necessary, and this is demanded by the interests of both countries because—as has been said so many times—Europe, rather than admitting quarreling neighbors, tries to keep them at a distance. In addition, it is not very practical to argue about historical injuries on the level of daily politics; this would unavoidably push the rational interests—which need solid ground if the affected sides take their implementation seriously—into a quagmire of emotions. This affects the futures of both countries and of the national minorities of each country, which can only be guaranteed jointly. Kovac expressed his readiness to work in this direction and promised that the majority of the Slovak public supports him.

However, politics does not only consist of gestures. It is a tough political reality that, according to public opinion polls published on 11 June, the party of the prime minister, who is pushing for the replacement of the president, has increased its popularity, and it is a poor comfort that the number of the extremist Slovak National Party's supporters has decreased and, except for the left-wing socialists and the Hungarian Christian

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democrats, none of the opposition parties—which support the president—can boast increased support. And the promise and proposal for the ministries of the two countries to maintain direct links with each other is wonderful when we know that, unfortunately, the president is hardly able to maintain contact with his own ministries; an example of this is the weeks-long Odyssey from the Slovak Foreign Ministry to the president's office of the ratified document of the basic treaty awaiting the president's signature.

Kovac's Budapest visit is a significant political achievement, it is in accordance with his persistent fight for the rules of democracy to prevail in his country. A Slovak writer once wrote: "The Hungarians are the destiny of Slovak politics." Kovac wants us to entrust our future to joint work rather than to fate. This is honorable.

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B-H: Former PM Injured in Inter-Muslim Political Clash

LD1506224896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The following report will probably cause many reactions. In this part of our program we are speaking about party activities. We planned to devote this part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina TV news to a report from a convention of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Bihac but our reporter has not been able to file the report from Bihac, a town which is still in a blind alley as far as telecommunications are concerned. Several minutes ago we received call from Mustafa Mujagic, the spokesman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, who told us that the convention in Bihac was held without any problems in the packed town hall. However, Mustafa Mujagic told us that an unpleasant incident took place in Cazin [a Muslim town north of Bihac]. This incident has really harmed the image of a democratic post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mustafa Mujagic has given us the following statement issued by the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina:

A spontaneous popular outburst took place in Cazin late this afternoon and the scenario was carried out so well that even the authors of [Serbian President] Milosevic's yogurt revolution [Milosevic grabbed power in Serbia after a series of huge "spontaneous" rallies] would be envious.

A mob consisting of at least 100 people used brute force to prevent the promotion of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina [in Cazin]. The party's chairman, Dr. Haris Silajdzic, was injured in the incident. Carrying SDA [Stranka Demokratske Akcije-SDA, ruling Bosnian Muslim party founded by President Alija Izetbegovic] banners and the picture of Alija Izetbegovic in a prominent place, crying out the name of Allah, they lashed out at the people [Silajdzic's supporters] and demolished cars. It is also very interesting that not a single policeman could be seen at the scene of the incident. Earlier, Dr. Silajdzic had been prevented by the same so-called spontaneous rally from opening a medical equipment plant in Cazin. Even though the police had promised to provide security at the plant, no policemen were present. Dr. Silajdzic was attacked from behind and hit on the head with an iron bar but according to the courteous doctors from the Karlovac hospital [in neighbouring Croatia] the injury is not of a serious nature.

B-H: Ruling Muslim Party Denounces Attack on Former PM

LD1606093596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] After the report on the incident in Cazin in which the supporters of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina [party of the former Bosnian prime minister, Haris Silajdzic] were prevented from holding their convention, the [ruling] Party of Democratic Action has issued the following statement:

The Party of Democratic Action condemns strongly the behavior of the participants in yesterday's incident in Cazin in which the supporters of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina were prevented from holding their convention and the party's chairman, Haris Silajdzic, was physically attacked.

We demand that the appropriate state bodies take energetic measures to prevent such behavior in any part of the country and that they punish the perpetrators accordingly.

B-H: Silajdzic Reported 'Close to Being Killed' in Attack

AU1606135396 Paris AFP in English 1104 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 16 (AFP)—Former Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic came close to being killed when he was attacked Saturday by supporters of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA), a senior aide told AFP here Sunday.

Silajdzic, who split with the SDA in January, suffered bruises and a severe cut to the right hand side of his head when he was hit over the head by an iron bar Saturday while campaigning at Cazin in northwest Bosnia for upcoming elections, senior aide Fadil Cerimagic said.

The former Bosnian prime minister was recovering in a hotel in Zagreb, the largest city close to Cazin, on Sunday, after being released from hospital overnight.

Silajdzic was attacked by a man who lay in wait for him as he entered a building in Cazin where he was to address a convention of his opposition Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SBiH).

"He has a cut that is five to six centimetres (two inches) long and needed stitches, on the right hand side of his head," Cerimagic said, giving the first detailed account of the incident.

"A centimetre either way and he could have been killed," he added.

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Silajdzic, who was Sunday considered in a condition fit enough to travel, had come to the small town of Cazin shortly before 6:00 p.m. Saturday in a convoy of ten cars from an earlier meeting at nearby Bihac, Cerimagic said.

When the convoy approached the cinema building where the second of the day's meetings was to take place, a crowd of some 50 people attacked, he said.

When Silajdzic retreated into the cinema, an assailant was waiting behind the cinema door and struck him on the head with an iron bar before fleeing, he said.

The attackers were shouting "traitor" and "you will not divide us," the aide added.

"It was organised. They pulled down our posters and put up their own posters, SDA flags and pictures, and then we understood it was an ambush," he said.

Moslem-Croat federation police were present but did nothing to intervene, he said, adding that UN police were also at the scene.

Cerimagic also refered to an article in the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE, saying: "Some officials of the SDA party have said they will use all powers to stop opponents."

Silajdzic, who was not expected to make a statement himself in Zagreb, spent the morning recovering and hoped to go to Sarajevo during the day before attending another party convention in the Herzegovina town of Jablanica Monday, his aide said.

The SDA in a statement released in Sarajevo condemned the attack.

B-H: Police Official's Statement on Cazin Incident

LD1606181596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Let us hear a statement by Edhem Veladzic, police minister in Una-Sana Canton, in response to yesterday's incident in Cazin:

[Begin Veladzic recording] The incident happened in the town center, to be more precise, near the cinema where the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina was to hold a meeting. The attack was carried out by an outraged crowd which assaulted members of that party, during which party chairman Haris Silajdzic was wounded.

Police members managed to extract the aforementioned individual and six or seven people others from the crowd and offer them protection at the premises of our public security station. Six policemen received light injuries while offering protection to the party chairman and members. The incident lasted four to five minutes, from the beginning of the assault to their accommodation at the premises of the public security station in Cazin.

I would like to emphasize that the police saved Haris Silajdzic and his followers, whose number at that particular moment was very small. The Una-Sana Canton police immediately set up a team of our best police experts who are currently conducting a thorough investigation into all the circumstances surrounding this incident. [passage omitted] [end recording]

B-H: Party of Democratic Action Condemned for Attack on Ex-PM

LD1606180396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] After the brutal physical attack on Haris Silajdzic, the president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the executive commission of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina issued the following statement:

[Correspondent] After the successful convention of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Bihac, a similarly prepared convention in Cazin was prevented by a violent outside group when it attacked Haris Silajdzic. This attack was executed by an organized group of extremists who carried banners of the Party of Democratic Action.

Dr. Silajdzic received serious injuries and was given medical aid in hospitals in Karlovac and Zagreb. Josip Pejakovic and Silajdzic's bodyguard, Meho Hajdarevbic, were also injured in this incident.

The attack followed several statements made by the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action which instigated the attackers.

Behind this act by extremists a political wing wishing to exploit the war victims and the suffering of people in order to impose its absolute power and prevent a democratic process taking place in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, along with all the democratic forces, condemns with indignation this attack and underlines it will not withdraw when faced with political terror with which the extremists wish to frighten and discourage democratic forces.

The forthcoming elections represent a chance to open roads of freedom and democracy in place of violence and terror. That is why we stress that the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue in full its political and preelection activity for the realization of the program for a single Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The attack on Silajdzic is at the same time a warning to the officials, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, diplomatic envoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the international community as to

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what they should do in order to secure a democratic atmosphere and the possibility of a multiparty democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Concerning the medical state of Silajdzic and the other injured persons, we inform the public that his medical state is at present satisfactory, the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina statement said.

B-H: Silajdzic Denounces Physical Assault at Cazin

LD1606205596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Jun 96

[Statement by Haris Silajdzic, chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everything leads to the conclusion that the whole [Cazin] affair was orchestrated from Bihac. There is no doubt that this was an organized physical assault. The police were not present at the meeting even though it had been properly announced.

The barbaric acts lasted almost four hours and did not arouse police intervention. The other fact is that the attack was carried out by a group of about 20 extremists under the Party for Democratic Action banner. The names of the extremists are known. They even attacked the women at the scene.

The third fact is that this is a terrorist group which is working on carrying out a plan to break up Bosnia and establish absolutist authorities in one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. You could see for yourselves how this would work in practice.

B-H: Federal Interior Ministry Statement on Cazin Incident

LD1606223096 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is a statement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in connection with the Cazin incident:

Around 1800 [1600 GMT] on Saturday 15 June—despite the fact that members of the Cazin public security station had taken all necessary security measures for a meeting of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina—public peace and order were violated to a significant degree in front of the cinema in Cazin where the meeting was to be held.

On this occasion bodily injuries were inflicted on a number of people, including Mr. Haris Silajdzic, chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The incident occurred when a large group of citizens rallied in front of the cinema, protesting against Silajdzic's arrival. They broke into the cinema to have a physical show-down with the chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Members of the Cazin public security station formed a human shield around Silajdzic, trying to take him out through emergency exits. At one point, Silajdzic was also hit on the head most probably with a flagpole. Seven members of the Cazin public security station also received light injuries.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a team to offer professional help to the Bihac public security center in shedding light on the incident and uncovering the riot instigators and perpetrators of this crime. The public will be informed about the results of the investigation in due course.

B-H: Silajdzic Leaves Zagreb Hotel, Whereabouts Unknown

AU1706110596 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 17 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 17 (AFP)—Former Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic has checked out of his hotel here, hotel staff said Monday, following a weekend incident in which he was seriously assaulted by people apparently supporting the ruling party.

And uncertainty surrounded his exact whereabouts and condition.

Officials at the headquarters of his opposition Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SBiH) in Sarajevo were unable to say midday Monday when he would be expected there and Bosnian officials in Zagreb were unable to help on his whereabouts.

Silajdzic had spent Sunday in the Croatian capital after the incident Saturday in which he was hit over the head with an iron bar, causing a six centimetre (over two inch) cut to the right-hand side of the head and bruising.

He checked out of the hotel late Sunday, hotel staff said.

The former premier told Bosnian television Sunday that the attack on him in the Bosnian town of Cazin was apparently organised by supporters of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA).

Siladjzic said he was attacked by a crowd of people carrying SDA banners as he was about to address a convention in Cazin of the SBiH.

He said the identity of the people was known.

Silajdzic set up the SBiH in April after splitting with the SDA in January and resigning as prime minister. He is campaigning on the ticket of a multiethnic Bosnia

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and accuses the SDA of wanting a Moslem-dominated federation.

The first post-war nationwide elections are due in Bosnia in mid-September. This attack on Silajdzic was the first serious incident in the campaign and brought instant condemnation from the SDA, opposition parties and international officials.

State television showed footage Sunday of Silajdzic immediately after the attack, pressing white gauze to a wound on the right side of his head, the blood dripping onto his trousers.

An aide in Zagreb told AFP Sunday, Silajdzic "has a cut that is five to six centimetres (two inches) long and needed stitches, on the right side of his head," after being hit over the head with an iron bar, during the incident.

"A centimetre either way and he could have been killed," he added.

He was in a "very bad condition," another aide added.

B-H: New Herzeg-Bosnia Prime Minister, Ministers Appointed

LD1506174396 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a statement issued by the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the council adopted a number of decisions and discussed several current political issues at its session in Mostar today.

After discussing the implementation of the decision to reorganize the government in the transitional period until the federal and county authorities are set up, the Presidential Council adopted a draft law on amendments and addenda to the law on government and a draft law on amendments and addenda to the law on the organization and competences of the ministries and other state administrative bodies.

At the proposal of the Presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], the Presidential Council appointed Pero Markovic as prime minister. At the proposal of Pero Markovic, Vladimir Soljic, Bosnia-Herzegovina federal defense Minister, was appointed defense minister; Ivan Vrankic—interior minister; Frano Franic—finance minister; Barisa Colak—justice minister; Valentin Coric—social affairs minister; and Nikola Antunovic—minister of economy. Before they come into effect, the appointments will go through the regular procedure in the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

The statement further reads:

The Presidential Council decided to grant an amnesty to persons who had not answered the general mobilization call at the time of aggression against the Croat nation and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The statement stresses that the Presidential Council believes this will speed up the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The starting point for this decision is the provision of Article 6, Annex 7 of the Dayton agreement, obliging all sides who are signatories to grant an amnesty to all refugees and displaced persons returning to Bosnia-Herzegovina who had committed crimes punishable by law, except acts in contravention of international humanitarian law.

All ongoing criminal proceedings against persons and carrying out of complete sentences for persons who did not answer the mobilization call are being discontinued. In the case of persons whose sentence has already commenced, the remainder of the sentence is remitted, while new criminal proceedings will not be initiated.

This decision is to take effect immediately and will remain in force until this issue is finally regulated in the law to be adopted by the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

The Presidential Council has relieved Jela Kreza of the post of minister of social affairs in the government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia at his request.

B-H: PM Muratovic Condemns 'Illegal' Croat Government

AU1606140596 Paris AFP in English 1237 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 16 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic on Sunday condemned separatist Bosnian Croats for naming a new government for a rebel state that was to have been disbanded months ago.

Leaders of the self-proclaimed Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia on Saturday named Pero Markovic, a Croat politician from the town of Capljina, as prime minister, Bosnian Croat radio said Saturday, broadcasting from the southern town of Mostar.

Markovic then appointed a series of ministers to the new government, the radio said.

Speaking Sunday to reporters in Sarajevo, Muratovic, who heads the Sarajevo-based government of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, condemned the move as illegal and said it showed a lack of commitment from the Croats to a federal government in Bosnia.

"Herzeg-Bosnia does not exist," he said.

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Herzeg-Bosnia, he added, "has never been legal because it was created in war by force, there has never been any campaign or election. There is only federation and they (Croats) recognize it by words."

The difference between words and action however are great in Bosnia and Croats have done little to dismantle the "illegal" state they proclaimed in 1993 on the territories then controlled by the Bosnian Croat force, Croat Defence Council (HVO).

Thousands of people were killed and thousands more driven from their homes in Moslem-Croat fighting that ended only after intervention by Washington in early 1994.

Under the Dayton peace treaty, the rebel state should have been dissolved in favour of the Moslem-Croat federation which was created under US pressure. But in practice the federal government, although composed of both Moslem and Croat ministers, still has little or no authority over territory controlled by the Croats, its officials and observers admit.

All of this comes as Mostar, the main town in the Croat-controlled region and divided between Moslems and Croats, gears up for the first post-war poll in Bosnia, on June 30.

It is a sign, Muratovic said Sunday, of the commitment of the Croats to reintegration that in over two years since the federation was formed Croats have several times played dual roles as ministers of both the official federal and the unofficial Herzeg-Bosnia governments.

"It speaks for itself as to the commitment of the Croats to build the federation", Muratovic said Sunday.

Vladimir Soljic—defence minister of the Moslem-Croat federation—who was named as defence minister of the Bosnian Croat para-state would have to explain his new posting, Muratovic said.

"For us there cannot be any defence minister of a para-state."

"We will have to raise that question very, very soon", he added.

US officials involved with the federation were not available Saturday to comment on the nominations.

B-H: Muratovic Criticizes Croat Appointments

LD1606223696 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the proposal of the presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the presidential council of the so-called Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia held a session yesterday at which the prime minister, defense minister, interior minister, finance minister, justice minister, social affairs minister, and trade minister of so-called Herzeg-Bosnia were appointed. This caused a reaction from a number of Bosnia-Herzegovina officials and parties.

[Begin recording] [Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation] The so-called Herzeg-Bosnia has had a dual minister. The same minister held a post here [in Sarajevo] with the legal government and also with the government of the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia [in Mostar]. The international community and our government had brought pressure to bear upon them to stop this practice.

They decided to separate the two governments and ministerial positions, to have ministerial positions with the legal government and with the government of Herzeg-Bosnia, which does not exist according to their own decisions. However, they still keep on appointing ministers; they have an administration and a budget; unfortunately Herzeg-Bosnia is still functioning. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: Muratovic, Prlic Comment on Florence Conference

LD1406223296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A two-day ministerial conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina ended in Florence today. The parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina signed an agreement on arms control. This agreement should have been signed in Oslo at the beginning of this week, but, as is already known, it was blocked by the Bosnian Serbs insisting on being treated as a separate entity and not as part of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After the conference, which mainly dealt with the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic gave the following statements to our journalist Jasna Niksic-Bozic:

[Begin recording] [Muratovic] As for the elections, the participants in the conference believe that everything should be done for the elections to be held as planned, by 14 September. We demanded that the elections be held at all levels and this was included in the final document.

It was also said that Karadzic had to be removed from the political scene by 1 July. The conclusion by the conference is very clear: the sanctions will be reintroduced if this is not accomplished. Moreover, it can also happen if the parties, that is to say Yugoslavia

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and the Serb Republic, fail to comply fully with the agreement.

As for reconstruction, donors were asked to speed up the process of making funds available.

With regard to refugees, following our intervention it was demanded that a procedure be defined which would enable people to exercise their right to return. We did not manage to define the procedure, but some institutions were tasked to do this.

Last, and most important, there were dramatic activities outside the conference in connection with the arms control treaty in the subregion. The treaty was signed today. We demanded from the Contact Group members that they guarantee that this meant that sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be fully preserved and respected. That is to say that in the treaty the Serb Republic is treated as an entity in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in line with the general agreement. This was signed by all six members of the Contact Group.

[Prlic] The atmosphere was positive. Bosnia-Herzegovina's delegation was complete, with representatives of both entities, which is a good sign. Conclusions were reached which are [word indistinct] major results which were achieved in the past six months, primarily halting the war, restoring peace, improving the quality of life of all Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens and beginning the process of reconstruction. The next six months will primarily be marked by the process of establishing state bodies on the basis of democratic principles, to which the elections—which, it is now certain, will be held by mid-September this year—should contribute.

The issue of the continued presence of IFOR [Implementation Force] was also broached. International military forces will have to remain in some form even after December this year. Support for the activity of the international tribunal in The Hague was expressed. Other aspects of the implementation of this agreement were [words indistinct].

However, the most important thing is that the spirit, the will of the international community to help establish the Bosnia-Herzegovina envisaged by the Dayton constitution was upheld. I attended more or less all the news conferences, and there was still that same spirit, reminiscent of the spirit of the first conference in London. Today, six months later, all relevant players in the international community are ready to help all forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina that favor peace and building a society based on democracy and the market economy.

[Unidentified correspondent] The decision on a date for the elections was postponed until later this month. Why was that?

[Prlic] Yes, it was postponed. That decision is very sensitive. The international community is based on democratic principles and all the people here have been democratically elected. Every one of them is afraid of making a decision for which the democratic public could condemn him or her tomorrow. There are two points of view on that problem. The American standpoint is that a date for the elections must be set in order to create adequate conditions for holding elections in the period leading up to that date. There can be no Bosnia-Herzegovina without elections; it will remain divided without elections and we will not create joint structures able to function throughout the territory, in line with the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

B-H: Izetbegovic Confers With NATO's Solana, Makes Statement

LD1506145196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] NATO Secretary General Javier Solana is visiting our country again. [passage omitted]

Statements followed the talks with our officials—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, and General Sakib Mehmuljin. [Name indistinct] has a report:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] President Alija Izetbegovic was the first to address the many Bosnian and foreign correspondents. He stressed that this was a very important and useful meeting with representatives of NATO's political and military top brass.

[Izetbegovic] We discussed a whole series of issues. First, we assessed the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and [words indistinct] of IFOR [Implementation Force] activities here. Of course, we hope that the civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement will be implemented in the second phase, with the same effectiveness the soldiers had in the first phase. There are difficulties [words indistinct], we concluded that this is a much more complex issue. [Passage indistinct]

In any event, they promised that IFOR and NATO would do everything to support the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement, above all the problem of freedom of movement and the return of refugees as the two fundamental conditions for holding elections, in which we are all interested.

We also discussed the opening of railway lines. We were (?told) that work has begun on opening the

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Sarajevo-Ploce railway line by this fall, and—this is perhaps a small piece of news for our public—that the Tuzla-Zagreb railway line via Banja Luka might be reopened, too. We raised the issue of reopening, of removing obstacles on the Sarajevo-Maglaj railway line near Zepce. We were promised that IFOR would help resolve these problems in cooperation with high representative Carl Bildt. This means that the Sarajevo-Maglaj railway line may soon open. The process of handing over Sarajevo Airport to our authorities is under way. This is an ongoing process, and next week we will take over the hangars and some other facilities.

The issue of the remaining prisoners of war was raised, too. According to data presented by Gen. Joulwan, there are around (?30) of them on all sides.

We also discussed the freedom of the media. We said again that there are no problems with freedom of the press and media in our territory, the territory controlled by the legal, central authorities. I (?presented) certain figures, which show that there are a large number of independent radio and television stations throughout Bosnia, of limited range, but free and independent. There are many magazines and newspapers which [word indistinct] publish. I alerted them to the fact that, on the other hand, this problem is present in the territory controlled by Karadzic's Serbs.

[Correspondent] Concluding his statement, Mr. Izetbegovic stressed a very important fact.

[Izetbegovic] It is worth mentioning that we wound up our talks by saying that NATO will support all measures leading to the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We fully agree on this point. [Word indistinct] all measures that lead to integration. [passage omitted] [end recording]

B-H: U.S. Approach to Bosnian 'Crisis' Seen as 'Superficial'

AU1706124296 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 96 p 4

[Commentary by Vjekoslav Krsnik: "Washington Puts Pressure To Hold Elections by September"]

[FBIS Translated Text] New York—Since the Geneva meeting three weeks ago, under the burden of requirements of Clinton's presidential campaign, the U.S. Administration has put pressure on international organizations involved in the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina to support holding the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina as scheduled, by 14 September.

On the other side, there is severe criticism—both in Europe and in the United States—of this U.S. approach to the peace process. There is an opinion that having elections will at any rate endanger the peace process and the full implementation of the Dayton agreement, which might have far-reaching consequences for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Last week's communique of the influential New York human rights organization "Human Rights Watch" pointed out that "the international community will be a partner in crime" if the elections are held under present conditions.

President Clinton and his team of advisers, who have previously approached the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina with superficial solutions—as shown by, among other things, the case of Bosnian Muslims who imported Iranian weapons through Croatia—are trapped. The elections will only confirm the ethnic cleansing and the de facto victory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because U.S. General Leighton-Smith, following the "superficial policy," has determinedly refused to allow NATO forces to arrest the two Serbs suspected of war crimes and extradite them to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, while Serbian President Milosevic has cunningly used the American weaknesses and kept Karadzic and Mladic in leading positions in the Serb Republic. That is exactly what the U.S. Administration and its chief negotiator Richard Holbrooke have tried to avoid in their hope that problems could be solved in a diplomatic way, without using force. In fact, the Americans are in a situation similar to that in the final months of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Pentagon had done their best to avoid the military involvement of the United States in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they eventually bombed the Bosnian Serbs, and 20,000 U.S. soldiers were sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina among the 60,000 NATO soldiers. Under the present circumstances, fair and free elections cannot be held if Karadzic and Mladic remain in their positions, and President Clinton cannot decide to withdraw U.S. soldiers as scheduled if the elections are not held. In the succession of international political challenges his Administration has been facing, the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina could turn out to be his serious defeat, which might help the Republicans, whose solutions for the Bosnian crisis were different. If the elections are held with Karadzic and Mladic in their positions, that will be the end of the Dayton agreement. On the other hand, if Admiral Smith or his successor Adm. Joseph Lopez, who is supposed to replace him during the summer, get the order to arrest the two leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, it will inevitably lead to an armed conflict and—possibly—casualties among U.S. soldiers, which might seriously endanger Clinton's position, the election campaign being in full swing.

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Milosevic—The Main Evildoer

Much as the American public accepts the superficial policy of Clinton's Administration in the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, primarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they still do not neglect the fact that the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic is the main evildoer and the initiator of aggression on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and ethnic cleansing. The editorial of yesterday's edition of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the best-selling American big business daily, pointed out that "from the beginning, the West had been unable to admit that the problem in the Balkans was the brutal war in the name of Serbian expansionism, and that the creator of war crimes was Slobodan Milosevic." Furthermore, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL decided that Clinton's policy was one of "deliberate blindness" that had led to new extremes, like giving war crimes suspects a free hand as long as they are useful for Clinton's election campaign. "Having elections under present conditions would be a tragedy in the Balkans, and it would turn democracy into farce," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL concluded, and estimated that the new U.S. President will have to face new hostilities in the Balkans, which will call for even greater involvement by the United States. "Even worse, Milosevic has not only succeeded in resisting the United States, he has made them work for him," said the U.S. business daily, and warned that "many similar tyrants are preparing to misuse the American combination of isolationism and idealism in a similar way in their ethnic aspirations." The lesson that the U.S. politicians must learn from the Balkans is that, whether they like it or not, the United States is involved in events worldwide, and they must learn not to evade that, but to "intervene with greater skill and understanding. When an aggression begins, the United States must not look the other way, only to wake up after a while to discover that the only solution is to send their land forces," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL editorial concluded.

B-H: Parties Preparing for Sep Elections Listed

LD1706121996 Belgrade TANJUG in English GMT 1139 GMT 17 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 17 (TANJUG)—Participating in Bosnia's elections in September are 26 parties that have met the conditions stipulated by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe which is charged with organizing and monitoring the elections. Fourteen parties will vie in Bosnia's Serb entity Republika Srpska and 12 in the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Most parties will form electoral blocs among the center, left and national parties. The Democratic Patriotic bloc, marked as a center, will be led by Banja Luka's parliament speaker Predrag Radic. It includes the Democratic Center Party, Democratic Party, National Radical Party 'Nikola Pasic,' Peasant-Labor Party and Fatherland Party.

The left parties are headed by the Socialist Party under Zivko Radisic. Their electoral partners are the Party of Independent Social-Democrats led by Milorad Dodik, Yugoslav Left of Republika Srpska and Socialist Labor Party. They will be joined by the Social Liberal Party of Miodrag Zivanovic, one of the fiercest critics of the ruling Serb Democratic Party and the Bosnian Serb leaders.

National parties have yet to declare themselves on forming joint electoral lists.

Vying in the elections in the Muslim-Croat Federation are the Party of Democratic Action of Alija Izetbegovic, Croatian Democratic Union, Union of Bosnian Social-Democrats, Liberal Party, Croatian Peasant Party, Muslim Bosniak Organization and the Party for Bosnia, whose president is former prime minister Haris Silajdzic.

B-H: EU's Metscher: No New Postponement of Mostar Elections

AU1406203296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar, 14 Jun—Klaus Metscher, deputy EU Mostar Administrator, today rejected speculation that the elections in the city would again be postponed.

At a news conference Metscher said that voter registers would be completed by 24 June, after which Mostar citizens would be able to check whether they were listed in the registers.

He said that the EU Administration had lately received sharp letters from eastern Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic, who demanded that the registration of the coalition of five opposition parties be carried out, and who voiced complaints regarding the changes to voting registers.

Metscher answered that the electoral commission, rather than the EU Administration, was responsible for this part of the elections, and that the Administration was only helping out.

In response to a question as to whether it was true that Michael Steiner, deputy of the High Commissioner for Bosnia-Herzegovina, had promised the five party coalition that he would personally make sure that their

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list is accepted, Metscher said that he was not aware of this, but added that the parties had the right to appeal to the EU ombudsman who would make the final decision.

B-H: EU's Steiner Sees 'Negative Trend' in Refugees' Return

AU1706121796 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 96 p 5

[Report by ONASA: "A Negative Trend in the Return of Refugees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 13 June (ONASA)—Michael Steiner, deputy high representative of the international community to Bosnia-Herzegovina, stated that a negative trend in the return of refugees and displaced persons has been perceived. "I consider that one can say with certainty that we have a development in a negative direction, which means that the situation is now worse than when the Dayton accord was signed," Steiner said at a recently held news conference. According to him, over the past six months, around 100,000 people have returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina, while around 90,000 people were displaced during the same period. "The negative trend in the return of refugees is apparent in both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is particularly worrying that, on the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there has been no return of Bosniaks and Croats to their former homes," Steiner said.

He emphasized that Sarajevo should be a model for the return of refugees, and if they fail to return to Sarajevo, then they will not return to other places.

B-H: Agreement on Arms Reduction Reached at Florence Summit

LD1406155796 Rome RAI Televideo Teletext in Italian 1545 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement on the reduction of arms in the countries involved in the Bosnian war was signed today at the Florence summit.

The treaty, which failed to be signed last Monday [10 June] in Oslo because of differences over the recognition of the Bosnian Serb Republic, establishes limits for five types of weapon, including armored cars and fighter aircraft.

The [Italian] Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini, said that "a lower level of armaments will bring greater stability to the region."

B-H: Klickovic Praises Dini's Handling of Florence Conference

LD1506083696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0130 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 June (SRNA)—In Belgrade last night, Gojko Klickovic, prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, expressed satisfaction with the results of the ministerial conference in Florence and the treatment of the Serb Republic's delegation.

The prime minister said this was very much due to the good services of Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini, who presided at the conference.

"Dini showed understanding for our demand that there could be no discussions except within the formula agreed in Dayton, according to which Bosnia-Herzegovina is made up of three sovereign peoples and two equal entities," Klickovic told SRNA on arrival in Belgrade.

In line with this principle, which was also the basis of the Dayton agreement, Dini showed understanding for Serb standpoints and did nor permit further pressure on the Serb Republic delegation, Klickovic said.

He expressed the expectation that "the next conference on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a major step forward to this end."

"I believe the defining moment was my announcement that the people, as well as the Army and the police, are protecting President Karadzic," the Bosnian Serb prime minister said.

The leader of the Bosnian Serb delegation added that the Serb side "let it clearly be known that the elections could not be linked to demands for the handing over of the leaders of the Serb Republic and that we had not come to Florence to make further concessions."

"The important thing for us was that the date for the elections had remained unchanged, which means that the Muslim demand for their postponement was not accepted by the international community," he added.

Commenting on the agreement on regional arms control in the Balkans, Klickovic said it was signed "in the same form as when it was initialed by the Bosnian Serb side in Vienna."

Klickovic said Florence witnessed a rejection of the standpoint of international mediator Carl Bildt that all aid should continue to be given only to the Muslim-Croat Federation, and in the end he himself accepted that in future one third will go to the Serb Republic.

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B-H: Serb Foreign Minister Praises Dini, Criticizes Cassese

LD1606215296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 16 June (SRNA)—Serb Republic Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said this evening that "the Serb Republic was recognized as an international player" at the recent ministerial conference in Florence.

"Since the signing of the peace agreement—following the Moscow conference—the Serb Republic has for the second time been treated the same as other participating countries," Buha told Serb TV in his remarks on the results of the international summit in Florence which was devoted to continuing the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

Buha particularly highlighted the objective approach and cooperativeness of the conference chairman, Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini.

The Serb Republic foreign minister said that Antonio Cassese, president of the Hague tribunal, who was at the international conference in Florence, "once again drastically confirmed the political nature of the tribunal."

"At one point Cassese forgot himself to such an extent that he said that there had been no need to set up the tribunal if President Karadzic and General Mladic were not to be brought to The Hague. Cassese proved that the Hague tribunal is a creation of political propaganda aimed only against the Serbs," Minister Buha said.

According to him, pressure was put on the Serb Republic delegation only when the agreement on subregional arms control was to be signed.

"The Muslims insisted on changes to the text referring to the status of the signatories to the agreement, for which they had no basis in the Dayton agreement," Buha said, adding that the Serb Republic delegation did not accept that change.

"It seems that the Americans exerted decisive pressure and the Muslims signed the original document," the Serb Republic foreign minister said, assessing the agreement as "a step in the direction of the real implementation of the Dayton agreement."

B-H: Serb Foreign Minister Comments on Florence Conference

LD1606194096 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on the outcome of the ministerial conference in Florence, Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha gave the following statement to Serb TV:

[Begin recording] [Buha] The main topic this time were the elections. We looked into details concerning both the dates for the elections and the conditions for the holding of elections.

Concerning the conditions for holding the elections, two assessments were put forward. One was that the conditions were not ripe; the Muslim side and the representatives of Muslim countries were insisting on this.

The other assessment was more realistic, and it was that the elections were in themselves an act that could not and should not be postponed; and that ideal conditions for holding of the elections can never be achieved.

This second assessment was at the same time, the assessment of the conference itself. The conference supported 14 September as the final deadline for elections. I think that all is left now is for Mr. Frowick [OSCE envoy in charge of elections] to formally announce this date as the final one for the elections. Related to the elections were also the issues of freedom of movement and the return of refugees about which there was discussions. With that we could put a full stop on the current topics.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the international community's next step?

[Buha] The next important step is the elections on 14 September. In the meantime, there is whole series of jobs to be done. Mr. Bildt would like to do certain things now—things that should follow the elections, things that can be done only after the joint institutions adopt relevant...[pauses] Mr. Bildt would like to do it now—so we asked him not to create precedents as we could only spoil things—but we should start thinking about it. It is something Mr. Bildt initiated—to start construction of buildings for joint institutions. Our side has already suggested that this be done on the separation line in Lukavica [south of Sarajevo]. I think that the next step will be to start that job, since the elections are not a long time off. And a month after the elections, or the following month, these institutions should be constituted. As this should not be the reason for postponement of their constitution, the construction of buildings in which joint institutions will be accommodated should start now. [end recording]

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B-H: Buha: Florence Signifies End of 'Hysteria' Over Karadzic

LD1506082796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0050 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 June (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said last night in Belgrade that the Florence conference signifies a calming of the hysteria in connection with the handing over of Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

"The hysteria has been halted, and the international community, at least as regards the Hague tribunal, is on the way to finding a moderate course," Buha told SRNA when he arrived at Belgrade airport.

He announced that 14 September is the definitive date for holding elections in the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation, and that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] should be giving its official endorsement of this date.

B-H: Plavsic: Reality of Bosnia Recognized in Florence

LD1506151696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 15 June (TANJUG)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, said today that the Florence conference had finally accepted the reality on the ground in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In her statement to Bosnian Serb radio, Plavsic said that it had become clear to the international community that any dictate could be endured only up to a certain point beyond which, should the pressures continue, the result of the implementation of the Dayton agreement would be completely uncertain.

She pointed out that, after the Florence conference, it was clear that the Dayton agreement had to succeed because of the U.S. elections, too, and that the political points scored in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina could help the governing administration win them.

B-H: Serb Vice President Urges Defending 'State Sovereignty'

LD1506153996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 15 June (TANJUG)—The vice president of the Serb Republic, Nikola Koljevic, told Serb radio Pale that the most important result of the ministerial conference in Florence was that the disarmament agreement was reached and signed.

He added that at the conference the Serb Republic foreign minister, Aleksa Buha, "played a role of indisputable importance for the degree of state sovereignty that we need to be given under the Dayton agreement."

"We must defend that degree of state sovereignty regardless of which joint bodies will be set up after the elections, and it is very important that we do not allow the creation before the elections of anything that was not set out and signed in the Dayton agreement," Koljevic stressed.

B-H: Krajisnik on Florence Talks, Elections, Hague Tribunal

LD1506202496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 15 Jun (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the Speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, said today that the ministerial conference in Florence had confirmed the international community's willingness to resolve certain basic problems in order to create and maintain peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement to SRNA, Krajisnik said that the Serb Republic could be satisfied, because it was obvious at the conference that the world wanted to prevent incidents and attempts to undermine the stipulations of the Dayton Agreement.

"It is very significant that our delegation was in a position to present the views of the Serb Republic, that, in a way, the statehood of the Serb Republic was confirmed in Florence. I believe that this is the right path, and in following it the international community can solve the problem of the whole crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the speaker said, and added:

"We are unhappy about continuing pressure on the Serb Republic, about the fact that it is discreetly being threatened with sanctions, that attempts are continuing to enforce as a condition certain stipulations based on international law. Here I refer primarily to the elections and persons who are eligible to take part in them."

According to Krajisnik, the fact that attention is still focused on President Radovan Karadzic and Serb Army Commander Ratko Mladic, both accused of alleged war crimes by the Hague tribunal, only exacerbates the tension.

According to him, [Muslim and Croat] persons have not been put in the same position, and the support of the people of the Serb Republic for President Karadzic and General Mladic is not being taken into account.

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"In any case, this a very wrong approach that cannot improve the situation, and this is not a good thing in these moments, crucial moments before the upcoming elections in former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Krajisnik said.

Commenting on claims that conditions are not ripe yet for the elections, he said that neither the Serb Republic nor the Muslim-Croat Federation had had a say in determining when and how they will be held. Krajisnik said that the international community, whose opinion is crucial, had had the final say.

"We are not satisfied with the way the elections will be held, because we cannot talk about regularity and democratic principles when almost everything is predetermined. But, bearing in mind that this is an imposed situation, we have agreed and accepted these rules and we will support the holding of the elections," the assembly speaker added.

"It will be possible today to find many objections to the regularity of the elections, but it is useful and politically absolutely correct to hold the elections as soon as possible," Krajisnik said, and added that the situation in which both entities find themselves in is not favorable, because the whole population is awaiting the elections.

According to him, the objections of all sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed at the regularity of holding the elections are not equally apposite. The Serb Republic has more right to object, because attempts are being made through different schemes to impose solutions on it that are far from democracy.

B-H: Klickovic: Evidence Required To Extradite Karadzic

LD1406161696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Florence, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—At the ministerial conference in Florence today France put forward its proposal for a two-year period for stabilizing the situation in Bosnia, during which the international community would support efforts by the relevant players in Bosnia-Herzegovina and help set out a timetable and modalities for the steps that needed to be taken. [passage omitted]

Gojko Klickovic, prime minister of the government of the Bosnian Serb Republic, told a news conference that the Serb Republic "is ready to hand over Radovan Karadzic only when evidence that he has committed war crimes is presented, but it will under no circumstances accept political condemnation."

Klickovic said that the president of the Hague tribunal, Italian judge Antonio Cassese, was "an intriguer" and described the Hague tribunal as a political institution. [passage omitted]

B-H: Karadzic Gives 'Exclusive' Interview on Future Plans

LD1606101596 London INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY in English 16 Jun 96 p 12

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, Bosnian Serb leader, by Lindsey Hilsum, diplomatic correspondent for Channel 4 News: "A Village Tyrant Spells Out His Dream for the Serbs"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "IF I get killed or captured, my people will still have a spirit but if I step down they will not," said the man blamed for blocking Bosnia's progress towards lasting peace. "I would never do it."

While diplomats fulminated against him at a conference in Florence last week, Radovan Karadzic was organising his henchmen and dreaming of building a "Serb Wall Street" in his mountain enclave. The president of Republika Srpska—the Serb entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina—was not invited to the gathering to review the Dayton Accords which halted the war in Bosnia six months ago. As an indicted war criminal, alleged to have ordered massacres and ethnic cleansing, Mr. Karadzic risks arrest if he steps outside Srpska. He is a pariah, "a provocation to the international community", Carl Bildt, the top official implementing the civilian side of Dayton, told the conference.

But Mr. Karadzic refuses to go quietly. Last Monday, he strode into his office in the mountain village of Pale, 10 miles from Sarajevo, with the confidence of a man who has heard many threats to oust him, but seen none translated into action. NATO-led peace enforcement troops patrol within a few yards of his haunts, but make no effort to arrest him. "I see them from time to time at a distance," he said. "But I have a way to avoid any checkpoint. This is my country."

Not that he is entirely immune to pressure, but he always tries to mould it to his own purposes. Pressed by Mr. Bildt to stop flaunting his power, he delegated public duties to his utterly loyal and equally extreme nationalist vice president, Biljana Plavsic. The same diplomats who refuse to deal with him now refuse to talk to her. Under an agreement with Mr. Bildt's office, Mr. Karadzic is not supposed to make official statements or media appearances so he declined to give a televised interview and described our meeting as "unofficial". His aim in talking to us appeared to be to show that while he may be quieter, his power is undiminished, and he does not intend to relinquish it.

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"I control everything," he said pausing his rapid-fire discourse periodically to deal with his secret. He sat at a mahogany table in a large carpeted office, decorated with icons of Serb nationalism. He picked at a bowl of wild strawberries—more difficult to get these days, he said, because of landmines. A well-built young man with a pistol in his jeans pocket prowled the room.

In the adjoining office, representatives of his Serbian Democratic Party were gathered. Under Dayton, indicted war criminals may not stand for elections due in September. Mr. Karadzic calls the provision "unlawful", but is ensuring that his loyalists are in position, so that if he does not run for office he can control everything from behind the scenes. So tight is the party's hold on the media and all institutions in Srpska and so intense the siege mentality of the people, that the chances of any other party gaining a foothold are remote.

He breezily denied being a war criminal, but would not go to the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague, because he did not believe he would get a fair trial. Dismissing overwhelming evidence of his involvement in atrocities, he said he had once issued an order forbidding Bosnian Serb soldiers from abusing human rights. Although there had been killing after his troops overran Srebrenica last June, he denied eyewitness accounts of senior commanders giving instructions to shoot. It was not a slaughter organized by the army, he said, but revenge attacks by Bosnian Serbs whose relatives had been killed by Muslims earlier in the war.

"The Poswavina corridor is crucial. We can't survive without it," said Mr. Karadzic, referring to one of the most bitterly disputed areas in Bosnia, which connects Srpska to Serbia but which the government in Sarajevo still claims. "Now the Muslims would like to make Brcko an outstanding area, they might try to cut us off here. That would be disastrous for peace. But we do not intend to fight unless we are attacked."

But Mr. Karadzic did not really want to talk about war crimes or politics. He wanted to talk about turning the quiet red-roofed village of Pale, where his support is strongest, into a major financial and industrial centre.

Pulling out a pointer from his breast pocket, he jabbed at a map on the board behind him. "This is Pale. Here,"—indicating an area coloured pink—"we'll have the business centre, a Serb Wall Street. There'll be a stock market two hotels and a banking area. Here's the main square, church and theatre. Blue is the residential area and yellow, industrial."

The next map showed all of Srpska, with blobs representing a planned oil refinery and power stations, and the route of a proposed 150-mile road and railway. "I'll give anyone the concession. This is a new small country...if it can't be a European Hong Kong, then something better."

Mr. Karadzic's fantasy of a happy, prosperous, internationally recognised, ethnically pure Bosnian Serb republic is unlikely to be realised. He has enemies inside Serb nationalism—not least President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, who would like to see him stripped of power and unable to influence events—and the republic of Srpska is more like Gormenghast than Hong Kong. All the same, the dream has a dangerous edge which could still threaten the uneasy peace delivered at Dayton.

B-H: Serb Civic Council Warns of 'Division,' 'Dissolution'

LD1506230796 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne I Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The third convention of Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens of Serb nationality, which will be attended by 650 delegates and guests, will be held on 14 July in Sarajevo. This was decided at the session of the Serb Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina [body supporting a multiethnic Bosnia] held today and chaired by its president, Mirko Pejanovic.

The basic points of the Serb Civic Council, to be proposed to the convention as the main document, stress that with the signing of the Dayton agreement basic conditions were created for a stable and permanent peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Together with good points of this agreement, the Serb Civic Council believes that different interpretations of the agreement could lead to ethnic division and dissolution of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that this must be prevented.

The Serb Civic Council once again warns of serious threats to human rights and freedoms throughout the whole territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and believes that the international community is largely to blame for not implementing the section of the Dayton agreement on the return of all refugees and displaced people to their homes.

A large part of responsibility is born also by the state institutions from which more efficient activity is demanded, as well as taking adequate legal measures, the statement issued after today's session of the Serb Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina said.

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B-H: 5 Bosnian Serb Parties Found Democratic Patriotic Bloc

LD0906091996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 9 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Five parties from the [Bosnian] Serb Republic have founded the Democratic Patriotic Bloc [DPC], which will take part in the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina with a united list of candidates, according to a statement from the constitutive session.

At the session held in Bijeljina [northeast Bosnia] yesterday, the DPC was joined by: the Party of the Democratic Center based in Trebinje [Herzegovina], the Peasant Workers' Party founded in Kozarska Dubica [Bosanska Dubica, northern Bosnia], the People's Radical Party "Nikola Pasic" from Banja Luka, the Fatherland Party based in Banja Luka, and the Democratic Party from Bijeljina.

The founders appointed a coordinating committee and adopted a platform on political interests and regulations of the Democratic Patriotic Bloc.

The statement from the session says that the central office of the DPC is in Banja Luka.

The Democratic Patriotic Bloc, it is said, will act as a political force of the center that "unites truly patriotic, democratic forces with the same political aims and interests."

It is also said that "in order to prevent further Serb divisions and exodus the bloc will be open to other parties, associations, even individuals, which are fully in favor of democracy, the Serb Republic, and the unity of the Serb people."

B-H: Banja Luka Mayor Radic Leaves SDS To Head DPBRS

AU1406132696 Paris AFP in English 1316 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 14 (AFP)—The mayor of Banja Luka, the Serb stronghold in northwestern Bosnia, Predrag Radic, quit the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) of Radovan Karadzic Friday to lead a coalition of five small opposition parties, officials said here.

Radic was elected president of the recently-formed Democratic-Patriotic Bloc of Republika Srpska Serb Republic] (DPBRS), the coalition announced.

Political parties were registering Friday for Bosnia's first post-war countrywide elections.

At a Bosnian summit in Florence, Italy, Friday, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission chief Robert Frowick said he was recommending the polls go ahead as planned by mid-September.

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Croatia: Tudjman, Solana, Joulwan Discuss Dayton Accord

LD1406231696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] This is Zoltan Kabok reporting from the presidential palace.

Franjo Tudjman, the president of the republic, held talks this evening with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and U.S. General George Joulwan, the NATO supreme allied commander in Europe. During two-hour talks they discussed the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and exchanged views on a regional approach to integrations in Europe and the outlook for the stability of a new order in the region.

Having said that the Republic of Croatia fully supported the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, President Tudjman stressed that Croatia belonged to the Central European and Mediterranean civilizations.

The meeting was also attended by Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa, the ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Brussels, Janko Vranicany-Dobrinovic, the chief of the Croatian Army's General Staff, Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, and Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser.

Immediately upon arrival at the presidential palace and before the meeting with President Tudjman, Secretary General Javier Solana and the supreme commander allied forces in Europe, General George Joulwan, made brief statements for the press. Javier Solana recalled that the most important thing at the moment was the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. He said Croatia's cooperation with NATO and IFOR [Implementation Force] had so far been very satisfactory. On the other hand, General Joulwan described the talks in Florence as a step forward in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and preparations for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatia: Government Reportedly Agrees to CE Demands

AU1406172596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 14 Jun (BETA)—The Croatian Government has adopted a reply to the conditions that the Council of Europe [CE] had reissued to Croatia for its admission into this institution.

The Croatian Government discussed the Council of Europe conditions at the closed portion of the session that was held late last night. It has been learned unofficially that the Croatian Government reply does not contain any essential differences to the demands put forward by the Council of Europe.

The Council of Europe demands that Croatia give guarantees for the observation of the freedom of media, human, and minority rights and respect the results of the democratic elections, the cooperation with the Hague tribunal, and the consolidation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

A new response by the Council of Europe could, as it is expected, arrive within the next few days.

Croatia: Tudjman Notes Achievements in Slavonia

LD1506154296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 96

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in the village of Gornji Bogicevci on 15 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Croats and Croat youth, chivalrous members of the Croatian Army who have defended our Croatia and liberated both Bogicevci and other Croatian areas; respected hosts, dear guests:

Since the first days of the struggle for the establishment of Croatia, all of us, including me, have had both difficult and beautiful days. Today is one of the nicest days. I have visited Jasenovac, where we recalled with all those we met there just what a tragedy the Croatian people suffered in World War II, with all the victims on both sides—on the side of fascism and on the side of communism.

In Jasenovac we saw traces of all kinds of crimes but we moved on, and my heart beat with joy when I came to Dragalic and here in Bogicevci. After all, all Croatian homes had been destroyed and all Croats had either been killed or driven out, and for years you had to live away from your homes, thinking: when shall we return. Now, here you are. You have returned, not to demolished houses but to renovated houses, which the common Croatian homeland has built.

However, there are also people in Croatia who do not realize the importance of the creation of this Croatian state, and that this Croatian state is being built up and regenerated, that this is the most important social program any people can have. We have paved the way for almost half a million displaced Croats and other citizens of Croatia to be able to return to their homes.

They [not further specified] destroyed 135,000 of our Croatian homes and several thousand churches, schools, and health centers. We have to rebuild all these. So far we have renovated 8,000 homes in Croatia. By the end of the year, even by the beginning of the school year, 20,000 homes will have been renovated.

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This represents a pace of reconstruction twice, even three times faster than in peacetime not only in Croatia but in similar countries throughout the world. Is that not a social program? Is that not care by the Croatian authorities and the Croatian state for that most important thing—the return of Croatian people to their homes, to their villages and towns, so they can dedicate themselves to work, rebuilding, and the schooling of children? Many of those allegedly involved in politics fail to see that by denying this they are being used by those who have been and still are against a independent and autonomous, democratic, free, and sovereign Croatian state.

Dear Croatian men and women, you mature people, as well as the youth of Croatia, we have won great victories. We have brought freedom to Croatia and established the Croatian state. We have come out as victors from the war for the homeland. We have won international recognition for Croatia. With our victories in the war and the liberation of western Slavonia and all the other Croatian areas we have changed the strategic balance of power, not only in the territory of the former Yugoslavia but in this part of the world. We have been recognized as a regional power, but they still want to be the masters of our fate. In the name of some other interests, not the interests of the Croatian people, they would like to take us back into the Balkans. They tell us: We do not want to recreate Yugoslavia, but your place is there, not only with Bosnia, but also with Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia [FYROM—Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and—if you like—countries even deeper in the Balkans.

Croatia has managed to save itself from that Yugoslav and communist hell with ten times fewer victims than in World War II. But we must not let it be in vain that we lost all those victims in order to create Croatian freedom and the Croatian state, and allow ourselves to be pushed back into a Yugoslav and Balkan hell.

Many people involved in politics in Croatia are either not aware of this or are working directly for those who do not want to accept Croatia, who do not want to see Croatian men in Croatian homes in their Croatian homeland; those who would like to see us ruled by others in one way or another, if not directly by a Serbian, Greater Serbian, Yugoslav—or I do not know what—dominance, then by economic dominance.

I will take this opportunity to congratulate all of you, all of us, on everything we have achieved, everything that can be seen here and in other parts of Croatia, everything we have done so far in rebuilding destroyed houses, families, schools, hospitals, and churches. In addition to all this building work, we must bear in mind that it is up to us not to allow ourselves to be pushed back into the old hell.

This is no invention. Over the past 14 days I have held talks with the most weighty and most important representatives of the European Union and NATO. They are telling us that it is necessary for us to return to that Yugo...[Pauses] No, they say, we do not want to see a recreation of Yugoslavia, but we would like Croatia to be in the Balkan region. It is six of one or half a dozen of the other, as the saying goes.

They have accepted Slovenia as an associate member of the European Union, and they would like to push Croatia back to where it does not belong. Throughout its history, right up to World War I Croatia was a central European and Mediterranean country. Croatian culture made an important contribution to the building of West European culture and civilization. This is where our place is, this is where we want to be, and this is where we shall be—but we have to preserve the unity of the Croatian people.

We are in favor of normalizing relations with Serbia and Yugoslavia which, with the help of their Yugoslav Communist Army and the Serb people, carried out an aggression which destroyed all these Croatian homes, 135,000 of them as I have already said. We want honest Serbs to come back, but not those—as Damir Zoric rightly said—who destroyed Croatian houses and killed and expelled the Croatian people.

We support a normalization of relations, we do not want any more evils to befall us or them, but we have to preserve, at all cost, our own freedom, our independence, our country, which as you can all see, takes care of every Croatian individual and every Croatian family.

It is understandable that we cannot solve all our problems at once. We are told there are social problems. Yes there are, and I know, the Croatian authorities know, that civil servants' salaries are low, that pensions are low. However, my dear Croatian citizens, my dear Croatian men and women, could we have solved everything at once—created an army, which is very expensive and with which we succeeded in defending Croatia and winning the war. Could we have at the same time resolved civil servants' salaries, increased pensions, and rebuilt these houses? There are things which are of primary importance for the lives of the people, for Croatian freedom, and the future of the Croatian state. However, it is certain that, just as we managed to resolve these issues through the strength of the Croatian people, of Croatians at home and abroad, with our bare hands, our hearts, our minds and our sacrifices, just as we created all this we will know

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equally well how to resolve all the other issues waiting for us.

But only under one condition. We must not allow ourselves to be dragged back to the Balkan hell from which we have escaped. (applause)

We should learn to appreciate that everything we have achieved, we have achieved thanks to our own efforts, with our own hands and with our own heads, and we should not allow others to decide our future for us. In particular, we should not allow an ostensibly democratic and integrated Europe to send us back to a Balkans to which we do not belong. Yes, we are for cooperation and normalization with these Balkan states, but we are not going back there. [applause]

We have experienced a lot with the return of people like you, who have suffered the loss of loved ones and the destruction of your homes, and who can now return to your old but renovated homes, homes in which you received from the state the basic elements of life, which also raise the level of culture and life in our villages. I beg you to be above all aware of what we have created and what awaits us. You should not allow anyone to sow discord in our Croatian ranks or allow Croatia's future to be brought into question.

However, as I believed in those far-off days of 1989, when the breakup of the socialist systems in the world and in the former Yugoslavia began, just as I believed then that there was a possibility of creating a free and democratic Croatia, and an independent Croatian state, because I believed in the Croatian individual and the Croatian people, so I now also believe that the Croatian people will be conscious of what they have created, and that various political groups who do not realize where the danger lies or who blindly listen to instructions from abroad, could bring all this into question.

Thus, now too, I believe that you and the Croatian people as a whole will be mature and ensure—as we ensured our freedom—that the future of Croatia is secured. Such a Croatia will quite certainly pave the way for our pay, pensions, education, and health service to progress further and further, so that this beautiful Croatia, such as, exists nowhere else in the world. I have been all over the world, from South America to New Zealand and Australia, to the north pole, and there is no country like Croatia. Croatia, with its beauty and natural resources, could feed four or five times as many people as there are Croats and citizens living in it today. However, we need our own authorities, we need our own minds, and all our resources, and the efforts and sweat of Croatian people should be placed in the service of Croatians and not some other kind of policies which might lead us to be driven from where we had great difficulty coming. But there are many on the Croatian political scene who do not realize this. [applause]

This is why I am telling you again—I have faith in you, not only as refugees but as Croatian people who know what they have lived through. I have faith in most people, in Croatian people, I believe that—just as they have determined their future over the past few years since 1990—they will know how to and have the awareness and maturity to keep in their own hands Croatian freedom, Croatian democracy, and the future of the Croatian state. Long live our only and eternal Croatian homeland. [applause]

Croatia: Tudjman Blames Fascists, Communists for Jasenovac

LD1506201496 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatia is now building and refurbishing after the Serb aggression, and this is the most important social program. It is necessary to create conditions for almost half a million Croatians to return to their homes.

So far, around 8,000 homes have been refurbished in western Slavonia. It is planned that around 20,000 will be refurbished by the end of the year.

President Tudjman with aides visited some parts of the liberated western Slavonia today: Jasenovac, Dragalic, and Gornji Bogicevci. Here is a report:

[Unidentified correspondent] Early this morning the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, accompanied by Jure Radic, the deputy prime minister and minister of development and reconstruction, arrived in Jasenovac.

He was met in front of the municipal hall by Rako Zapcic, the deputy prefect of Sisak-Moslavina County; Jasenovac Mayor Ivan Filipovic; Deputy Speaker Jadranka Kosor; Presidential Advisors Drago Krpina and Franjo Kajfez; and Damir Zoric, head of the Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons.

The president was greeted by the assembled citizens of Jasenovac and surrounding villages. [passage omitted]

[Begin Tudjman recording] I have just laid a wreath, as president of Croatia, to all the victims killed in Jasenovac—to those killed by the fascists, the NDH [Independent State of Croatia], but also to those who were killed by the communist regime, not only those who were detained in Bleiburg in Austria in 1945, but others, too. It is certain that we will be able to establish what the truth is. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The president pointed out to journalists that the Jasenovac Memorial Center will remind the

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Croatian people of the position it was in, and that we will resolve the problem of Jasenovac—not in order to conceal the victims of the Ustashe's terror, but to remind us that the Croatian people suffered under different flags.

However, Croatian freedom and the Croatian state have been achieved and created through an overall reconciliation. Recalling the building of the memorial in Jasenovac, the president said that Aleksandar Rankovic, Yugoslav interior minister after World War II, had ordered the memorial to be created by the Belgrade artist, Bogdan Bogdanovic.

[Begin Tudjman recording] Personally, I like it, but it is true that it could not be created by a Croatian artist—it had to be made by a Serb. The most [word indistinct] and the Croatians could do was to inscribe the memorial with a poem by the Croatian poet, Ivan Goran Kovacic, who was killed by the chetniks. [end recording]

[Correspondent] In the end the president added that it had to be established what exactly was done by the Ustashe and what was done by the communists in Jasenovac. The presidential group then set off toward the nearby village of Dragalic.

Croatia: Tudjman's Remarks at Jasenovac Criticized

LD1606093796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 15 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 15 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Saturday visited the site of the notorious WWII Jasenovac death camp in which Croatian fascists, the Ustashas, killed at least 700,000 Serbs, most of them civilians.

Despite laying a wreath to 'all Jasenovac victims' at the memorial to the victims of the biggest and bloodiest death camp in the Balkans and the third worst in WWII Europe, Tudjman remained true to his idea on turning the memorial centre into a monument to 'all Croatian victims of war.'

The world has condemned Tudjman's idea to turn Jasenovac into a common grave of victims and their torturers, Hitler's zealous followers—the Ustashas. Zagreb has not reacted to these condemnations.

According to Yugoslav Government figures released after World War II, about 600,000 Serbs, 30,000 Gypsies, 20,000 Jews and 50,000 antifascists were killed in the Jasenovac death camp, including 19,554 infants and children of up to 14.

In his book The Wastelands of Historical Reality, published in the 1980s, Tudjman played down the number of victims, claiming that 'not more than 30,000 people' perished at Jasenovac.

He indirectly apologized to Jews for downplaying the number of victims in the camp only two years ago.

After touring the centre, Tudjman made a speech in the nearby village of Gornji Bogicevci.

'I visited Jasenovac, where we had to recall what a tragedy Croatian people had experienced in World War II, sacrificing lives on both sides—on the side of fascism and on the side of communism,' he said.

A few thousand of Croatian anti-fascists, mostly members or supporters of the communist movement, perished in the camp.

'Traces of crimes of all kinds' could be seen in Jasenovac, Tudjman said but made no mention of the fact that the largest number of victims had been Serbs or that the crimes had been committed by ustashas.

Tudjman is not making much effort to dissociate himself from the ustasha regime and the WWII fascist independent state of Croatia, which he frequently mentions as an important stage in the history of the creation of the Croatian state.

After coming to power, Tudjman opened the door to all ustashas who had lived in exile in the previous decades.

He appointed some of them, such as Ivo Rojnica, ambassadors, nominated others for the Croatian Parliament, and allowed still others, who had previously been tried in absentia for war crimes, to freely return to Croatia.

Tudjman also visited part of West Slavonia, but made no mention of the Serbs who had fled the region in the face of the Croatian Army in May 1995.

'We have scored great victories,' Tudjman said and added that Croatia had been recognized as a regional power.

'We must not allow to be brought back into the Yugoslav and Balkan hell,' he said, claiming that such intentions really existed.

Tudjman said that in the past two weeks he had conferred with the most serious and most important representatives of the European Union and NATO, who had told him that they did not favour the return of Yugoslavia, but that they favoured that 'Croatia be in this Balkan region.'

'They admitted Slovenia to the European Union an associated member, but they would like to have Croatia back where it does not belong,' Tudjman said.

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The Council of Europe has stopped a proposal to admit Croatia into the European Union, accusing Tudjman's regime of violating human and civil rights, Serb rights and the rights of Serb refugees to return as well as of stifling the freedom of the press.

Tudjman publicly admitted only a few weeks ago that about 90 percent of Serbs had fled or had been expelled from Croatia.

More than 550,000 Serbs fled or were expelled from Croatia since Tudjman came to power. A large number of the expelled lived far away from war zones.

THE GUARDIAN of London said in September 1995 that the number of Serbs in Croatia had dwindled from nearly 22 percent in late 1980s to less than three percent.

Croatia: FM Granic Opposes Serb Autonomy in Slavonia

LD0506125396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The ninth session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Assembly began today. The 36th session of the Chamber of Counties is continuing. Jasenka Dudic has a report:

[Dudic] Here are the main points raised during question hour in the Chamber of Deputies: It is true that there is a slight impasse in the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian region due to the fact that the local Serbs have asked for a certain level of autonomy, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said today, adding that Croatia does not wish, nor will it allow, any form of autonomy from which Milosevic has dissociated himself. We can only accept observance of the Croatian constitution, the constitutional law, European standards, and international supervision, Minister Granic said.

In the next 15 to 20 days we will try to find a formula for normalizing relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without compromising over any part of the Croatian territory. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Belgian FM Rejects Longer E. Slavonia Mission

BR1706113496 Brussels DE MORGEN in Dutch 15 Jun 96 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Belgians Will Not Stay Longer in Eastern Slavonia Under Any Circumstances"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Florence—It is out of the question that Belgian soldiers will remain in Eastern Slavonia longer than planned. It will end on 15 January, said Foreign Minister Derycke yesterday at the Bosnia conference in Florence. The meeting mainly covered the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the application of the Dayton Peace Agreement. But at the insistence of Derycke the situation in Eastern Slavonia was also raised. If things there get out of hand, then this would also have serious consequences for Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the minister.

Eastern Slavonia is the last enclave in Croatia which is still in the hands of separatist Serbs. An agreement made in November, which was ratified by a resolution of the UN Security Council in January, states that this area must be under Croatian authority again within one year. For that reason the area was put under UNTAES (UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia). Belgium leads the 5,000 UN soldiers in UNTAES and supplied 1,000 soldiers itself.

Minister Derycke said the area was as good as completely demilitarized. "Belgium has made its contribution. If every country had gone through so much trouble, then the situation there now would certainly be better." He pointed out that the return of the Croatian refugees to the area will still cause great tension. After all, some Serbs will have to leave. Large-scale slaughter appeared out of the question to the minister, but new fighting and a new flow of refugees were among the possibilities, said the minister.

Croatia: Derycke Requests Financial Support for Slavonia

BR1406140796 Brussels LE SOIR in French 14 Jun 96 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Slavonia, the Belgians' Concern"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN administrator in Eastern Slavonia (northeast Croatia), U.S. diplomat Jacques Klein, has congratulated Belgium on the way the Serbian militia The Scorpions were expelled from this region which is still partially under Serbian secessionist control. "The Belgian management of this operation showed remarkable professionalism. You have reason to be proud," he told Belgian Defense Minister Jean-Pol Poncelet and 900 Belgian Blue Helmets (out of 5,000) stationed in Slavonia.

The Scorpions, a Serbian militia loyal to their leader Zeljko Raznatovic, alias "Arkan," who is renowned for his ethnic cleansing operations, left Eastern Slavonia in mid-May when the region was demilitarized in application of an agreement signed between the Croatian Government and Serbian officials which provides for the region's return to Zagreb.

But the situation in Slavonia continues to cause concern to Belgium which is hoping to make this very clear

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(again) in Florence. Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derycke has said that "any deterioration of the situation in Slavonia could have serious consequences for the situation in Bosnia." This deterioration could be linked to the refugee question: "As demilitarization is virtually complete, the next stage will be the (gradual) return of Croatian refugees to the area." A return coupled with that of "Serbian refugees" to areas where "they can legitimately settle. The pressure of these returns is going to be felt very soon and the internal situation in Eastern Slavonia is going to be very tense."

The consequence—"the need for an 'executive' police." Brussels points out, for the attention of those who may be contemplating having soldiers of the UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia contribute to such a force, that UN military forces "and Belgian troops in any event, have neither the experience, the equipment, nor the mandate to carry out police missions."

Which means the Belgians are asking for support. Military support, but not only that: "The rehabilitation of the territory is an essential factor in the long-term success of interethnic cohabitation. Belgium is ready to make a financial contribution to this effort," but "other potential contributors" are also required. "It is now that an effort must be made. Not after the Serbian population has left."

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Begin Demobilization

LD0506143196 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of Serb paramilitary formations in the Croatian Danubian region are to surrender their weapons to UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] within the next 10 days according to UNTAES spokesman Philip Arnold. This is part of the demilitarization process in the area. Marija Petrinovic has a report from Vinkovci:

[Begin Petrinovic recording] Dusan Loncar, the commander of Serb paramilitary formations in Podunavlje, this morning issued instructions to begin demobilization. The Belgian batallion in Baranja has taken over control of all border crossings to Hungary. Other UNTAES forces are situated in the entire border zone between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. UNTAES spokesman Philip Arnold told Croatian Radio on the phone from his office in Vukovar around 1400 [1200 GMT].

In the next 10 days the second phase of demilitarization is to take place. All Serb paramilitary formations are to be disbanded and all weapons surrendered. The deadline for the weapons surrender is 20 June; otherwise on 21 June all the weapons will be collected and destroyed. Between 3,000 to 5,000 Serb paramilitary troops will be demobilized. Some of them will join the UNTAES police force, Phillip Arnold said.

Approximately 80 percent of heavy weapons have been handed in and transported to Serbia. The process is continuing. Over the past 72 hours, seven tanks were surrendered, Arnold concluded. [end recording]

Croatia: Trial of 2 Journalists Opens Under New Press Law

AU1406165796 Paris AFP in English 1634 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Article by Sonia Bakaric]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 14 (AFP)—The trial opened here on Friday of two journalists from a Croatian satirical weekly newspaper charged with insulting the Croatian president, in the first case brought under a strict new press law.

Viktor Ivancic and Marinko Culic, editor and journalist of the weekly FERAL TRIBUNE, were charged last month under a new law introduced in March to protect the image of rightwing Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

The FERAL, known for its often viciously-funny lampooning of the 73-year-old president, and other Balkan leaders, earlier this year condemned the former Yugoslav army general for his "morbid idea" of burying former Croatian pro-Nazi killers alongside thousands of victims of Croatia's war-time pro-Nazi regime, at a former concentration camp, Jasenovac.

As the trial opened, the Croatian presidency showing almost a sense of humour, announced Tudjman would be making a trip Saturday to Jasenovac, a site where thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies killed by Croatia's pro-Nazi regime are buried.

The crackdown on the press is put down, by European diplomats in Zagreb, to the personality of Tudjman who is generally seen as highly sensitive to criticism.

The article in FERAL was one of a string of pieces taking a strongly anti-Tudjman line in the paper.

Entering court, Ivancic told reporters: "I have the feeling I'm in a bad American movie—This trial is a farce," he said.

"I could even bring a case against Tudjman since it is because of him that I haven't been able to put the last edition of my paper to bed," he added.

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The European parliament and media bodies including Reporteurs Sans Frontiers have condemned the crackdown on the press in Croatia as an infringement of basic civil liberties.

The law used by the Croatian authorities—which closely resembles one last used by the communist rulers when Croatia was a part of former Yugoslavia—was cited by the Council of Europe as one of the reasons for a delay agreed earlier this year in allowing Croatia's membership of the pan-European body.

Under the terms of the law, journalists found guilty of insulting the president or other high officials of state face between one and three years in prison.

Showing interest in the case, around 100 local and foreign journalists and several figures from the diplomatic corps in Zagreb packed into the court to witness the first day of the trial.

The FERAL—its name is a pun on the Paris-based Herald Tribune—is partly funded by the Soros Foundation and is widely read in Croatia, selling out quickly when it goes on sale.

"Croatia is one of the few European countries where journalists still have to appear in court," Ivancic complained

Judge Marin Mrcina had some difficulty controlling the 300 people who attended the opening of the hearing.

The two accused were defended by a team of eight lawyers, including some of the top lawyers in the country.

When one of the lawyers said that the trial could only take place "in the presence of Mr. Tudjman," the public in the gallery applauded strongly.

Asked by the judge if he had understood the charges against him, Ivancic, 36, said: "We understood its syntax but the sense of it escapes us a bit".

"You are trying the FERAL but Tudjman has done this to himself with his idea of the 'United Colors of Jasenovac.' Why doesn't the prosecutor try Tudjman for the harm he has done to Croatia?" Ivancic asked in an opening statement.

"This trial is aimed at criminalising opinions different from those of Tudjman, but we will continue to think his idea is sick. It is relativising war crimes," Ivancic said.

The trial is expected to take several days.

Several other trials under the law are under preparation.

Croatia: HDZ Sues GLOBUS Editor for Defamation

LD0506152796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The lawyer Zeljko Olujic from Zagreb, the legal representative of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Zagreb, has announced that the party has instituted proceedings for the criminal act of defamation punishable under Article 7, Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Republic of Croatia Penal Code, committed by GLOBUS editor in chief Davor Butkovic.

In an article published in the GLOBUS weekly on 31 May the HDZ, and its leadership in particular, were accused of drawing up blacklists. The article said that these lists had been in existence for a long time, that new ones had been drawn up and that they encouraged channeling individual anger to opposition politicians. [sentence as heard]. The accused Damir Butkovic is the author of this article; he is also the person who supervised its publication. All HDZ members, its leadership in particular, have been damaged.

The HDZ again uses this opportunity to say that there can be no talk of any sort of blacklists. It has instituted these criminal proceedings against the author of the incriminating article, first in order to protect law and order and the interests of the Croatian nation, and only second to protect HDZ interests and its leadership, says a statement forwarded by the Olujic law office.

Croatia: Opposition Featured on 'State Enemies' List

AU0506141596 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 pp 2-4

[Article by Davor Butkovic: "The HDZ Leadership Has Made Up a Black List of State Enemies, Which Includes Budisa, Cacic, Mecan, Racan, Tomac, Tomicic, and Gotovac"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On Sunday afternoon Radimir Cacic, president of the HNS [Croatian National Party] and a leading Zagorje businessman, sat in his office on St. Mark's Square and bothered his secretary, who was copying out certain political meditations of his that he considered especially important.

Cacic, who is 44 years old, had just returned from the presidential palace, where he had attended a two-day meeting of the Presidential Council that in the end proved itself basically useless. This was because President Franjo Tudjman did not say anything that was not already known to the opposition, or to the Croat public workers who do not participate in the government. Nor did the representatives of the opposition agree to support

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the main thesis of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] about how evil foreign officials have conspired against Croatia and are preventing its global affirmation. The opposition representatives did not agree to this, although they were visibly impressed by the atmosphere, the president's authority, and his self-consciousness.

Cacic, the leader of a relatively unimportant party, did not even think of the content of the second meeting of the Presidential Council. In the complicated combinations of coalitions in Croatian politics his party could become more important than the percentage of voters that supported them.

Although he tried to face the contradiction that his political enemies from the HDZ, for instance Ivan Milas, were all of a sudden much closer to him that those from the ruling party who think like him, such as Zlatko Matesa [Croatian prime minister], Franjo Greguric, and Nikica Valentic [former Croatian prime minister] (Cacic lamented: "Damn it, Milas is still the most intelligent economist in the HDZ; if Borislav Skergo [deputy prime minister in charge of finances] and Matesa continue in this way, we will all be ruined. We still do not even know how bad it could be"), the leader of the HNS in fact had his mind set on the news of which he had been informed in the corridors of the president's residence, and not the catastrophic budgets relating to the economic future of the Republic of Croatia. Namely, some of the high functionaries of the HDZ (even the high position of the vice president of the Sabor [Croatian parliament] was mentioned) announced to their colleagues from the leading opposition parties that a black list had been made with the names of Croatian opposition leaders who needed to be publicly discredited. Among others, the supposed list includes Ivica Racan [leader of the SDP—Social Democratic Party], Zdravko Tomac, Drazen Budisa [former leader of the HSLS—Croatian Social Liberal Party], Stipe Mesic [leader of the HND—Croatian Independent Democrats], and Cacic himself....

These politicians supposedly need to be discredited in the media, which is close to the HDZ, in a manner similar to the attempts to discredit Ivan Zvonimir Cicak with articles in VJESNIK. In these articles Cicak was proclaimed to have been a collaborator with the UDBA [former Yugoslav secret police] since his graduate days in the mid-1960's.

False Accusations Against Racan

It can be accepted that similar document of doubtful authenticity will soon be published, and also with the names of other opposition politicians. Let us remember that the head of the police intelligence agency, Smiljan Reljic, stated that he knew nothing about the papers that supposedly incriminate Cicak.

The interview with Vice Vukojevic, published in a low-circulation HDZ weekly, in which he accuses Ivica Racan of national treason, is a characteristic example of such activity by certain layers of the HDZ toward the opposition.

Vukojevic has established that Racan is responsible for the fact that Croatia was unarmed in the spring of 1990, and this by taking weapons away from the Territorial Defense. That is not correct. Namely, during the spring six years earlier over 95 percent of the weapons of the local Territorial Defense were already in the barracks of the JNA [Yugoslav National Army]. Racan could have returned these weapons to Croatia only by physically attacking the barracks of the JNA together with his associates!

Vukojevic proclaimed Racan a national traitor at about the same time as the leader of the SDP personally convinced himself of the existence of black lists of unsuitable [nepodoban] politicians in Croatia. These lists are very similar to the black lists of anticommunists from the time Racan held high functions in the hierarchy of the previous order.

Just one day before the first meeting of the Presidential Council, on 24 May, Ivica Racan, the head of the SDP, namely saw one of these new lists of the enemies of the people, of the HDZ, and of the head of the country.

Depending on the interpretation, the list includes 48 to 55 politicians and public officials. The contents of the list are known to all the HDZ leaders (we have to admit that one of the heads of the party told GLOBUS that he knows nothing of all this, although his closest associates were convincing us that he knows even more than they do). It contains the names of the leaders of all the leading opposition parties as well as the other best known representatives of these parties.

Vlado Gotovac [leader of the HSLS], Drazen Budisa, Zlatko Tomcic [HSS, Croatian Peasants Party, leader], Stjepan [Stipe] Mesic, Ivica Racan, Zdravko Tomac, and many other distinguished leaders have been proclaimed state enemies on a list that was distributed to important political members [stranka].

"If the spokesmen for the HDZ do not immediately disassociate themselves from the list of state enemies, which includes the names of all the important politicians outside the HDZ, we will consider that the HDZ does not oppose organized psychological pressure against the opposition, which could end in uncontrollable violence," said one of the people GLOBUS spoke to, one of the leaders of Zagreb's united opposition. He said this in commenting on the black lists, which have again turned up on the Croatian political scene six years after the fall of communism.

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Those in the opposition believe that the new black lists have a double political function. First of all they are meant to frighten the leading opposition politicians and warn them about what and when they may say anything in public. The lists are to influence the daily political actions of the leaders of the opposition leaders.

Hypothesis for Street Terror

The second and more dangerous function of the lists, as suggested by the person from the Croatian left with whom GLOBUS spoke, is the creation of the hypothesis of individual violence against those who politically do not think the same.

"The political situation in Croatia, as we know, is very difficult. The black lists that turned up three or four days ago show the frustrated and socially unprivileged citizens who the apparently guilty parties are. According to these lists, the leaders of the opposition parties are guilty.... At any moment one of the war veterans, who now has no place to stay, could beat up or shoot an opposition politician, believing that the politician is responsible for all his problems.... The black lists, which the HDZ is not distancing itself from, are creating psychological hypotheses for street violence," said GLOBUS's source, and continued: "I do not believe that, for instance, the presidency of the HDZ is behind this list of state enemies. Because it also harms the HDZ itself. However, they have done nothing to dispute such lists!"

It is interesting that the number of physical threats made to leaders of the opposition has increased in the last month, parallel with the appearance in the media of the illegal black lists.

Recently some of the opposition leaders have received letters composed of cut out and pasted print characters, in which they have been threatened with murder.

There is no sense in particularly mentioning anonymous telephone calls, as they have been part of the Croatian political scene for the last three years.

Croatian Political Disunity

It is especially interesting, almost bordering on curious, that the lists of Croatian opposition leaders to be publicly harmed [odstijeliti] or discreetly frightened appeared at exactly the same time President Tudjman, in the most forceful manner of the last five years, asked for the support of the entire Croatian public and especially opposition leaders. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Local Helsinki Committee Postpones Meeting on Serbs

LD1406164296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The Croatian Helsinki Human Rights Committee has postponed holding a round table with the subject "Serbs in Croatia—Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" that should have been held in Zagreb on 20-21 June.

The statement by the Croatian Helsinki Committee, the organizer of this gathering, says that it has been exposed to unprecedented attacks since making the announcement on the round table.

"At a time when, on the cover of the Croatian writers' magazine there appears a call to form shooting squads for certain participants of the roundtable and the Helsinki Committee as its organizer, we believe that we are unable to ensure the necessary security either for our members or for those we have invited from Croatia and abroad," members of the committee say in their statement.

They go on to say that the first attacks were started by the state daily VJESNIK and, they claim, this proves that there is a coordinated action at work against the gathering, which was to discuss "the issue of building a multi-ethnic and multicultural society, which is a crucial issue for Croatia."

One of the important elements of creating a democratic legal state is the possibility of the return of all the refugees, expelled and displaced persons to their homes, both Croat and "the Croatian citizens of Serb nationality who fled to other countries from the storms of the war. The policies of the Croatian authorities have de facto stripped them of their citizenship and their property, which is contrary to the Constitution," the Helsinki Committee says.

"We believe that our work is the best answer to those who justify ethnic cleansing and those who hate policies that respect human rights. The fear of dialogue turns into hatred. Efforts are being made to spread the hatred to as many Croatian people as possible," the organizers of the roundtable say.

They claim that the Croatian public scene "is not yet mature enough for an honest dialogue with its Serb citizens" and that it is very much "plagued with hatred" that is being "fed to our citizens daily" by the media.

The Croatian Helsinki Committee concludes that "the pogrom atmosphere over these last several weeks has provided a reflection of the Serbs' position in Croatia yesterday and today," but it still hopes that the dialogue they are proposing will show that "despite everything, there is a chance for the Serbs and the democratic relations in Croatia."

The committee said that it will try to organize a round table discussion on the same subject this autumn.

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FYROM: Croatian Foreign Minister Meets Crvenkovski

LD1706142396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, opened the Croatian Embassy in Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] a few moments ago. In addition to Croatian Ambassador to Macedonia Onesin Cvitan, the opening was also attended by Skopje-Prizren Bishop Joakim Herbut and other senior officials.

In the course of the morning, during the first part of his one-day official visit, Minister Granic and the Croatian delegation already had talks with Macedonian Foreign Minister Ljubomir Frckovski, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, and Deputy Speaker Blagoje Filipovski. The main topics were the bilateral political and economic relations between the two countries, the current and future situation in the region, and the coordination of views on the so-called global regional initiatives [as heard] of the European Union and other organizations.

As we have learned from the sources in our embassy, Minister Frckovski was invited to come to Zagreb in September, when the already initialed agreement on property and legal relations is expected to be signed. Agreements on health insurance and employment should also be prepared by this date, as they are important for the improvement of economic cooperation, which is as yet unsatisfactory.

It was pointed out in all the talks that there was a deep mutual agreement that good relations between Croatia and Macedonia, without any open issues, could set an example of cooperation in the region without any regional institutionalization. Frckovski informed Granic on the final preparations for a trade agreement between Macedonia and the European Union.

In the discussion about causes of the crisis in the region, Granic told his counterpart about the reintegration of the Croatian Danube area and the importance of the support for the Dayton agreement, the federation [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation] and holding the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina as planned.

The two sides agreed on the continuation of cooperation of the four countries in resolving the issue of the succession to the former Yugoslavia on the already known principles. Both countries believe that the problems that arose because of the regional war should be resolved through political negotiations, good-neighborly relations and the normalization of mutual relations.

One of the most important things were the identical views of both countries on future relations in the region based on the willingness to cooperate and on the rejection of any politically institutionalized, enforced framework, which could even prove counterproductive.

In the remaining part of his visit, Granic will have talks with Macedonian President Gligorov.

FYROM: Reasons for U.S. Military Presence Viewed

AU1706082896 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 14 Jun 96 p 15

[Commentary by Eleonora Karanfilovska: "Long-Term Calculations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When Macedonian Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski paid his first official visit to the United States last May, one of the hypothetical situations that was viewed was the enlargement of the U.S. military presence in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. "The troops might be engaged differently and probably under a different flag. The NATO flag is just one possibility," Joseph Kruzel—the man whom Macedonia recently showed great honors and appreciation by naming the Center for the Macedonian Army's staff in Skopje after him—said at that time. Why are we looking back on the talks with the then U.S. assistant defense minister that were held a few months before he was tragically killed in Bosnia? It is certainly not appropriate, let alone polite. We are repeating his words because of a number of present associations that take us back to Kruzel's unpretentious office somewhere in the endless corridors of the Pentagon building. Showing clear and precise thought, Kruzel sketched the situation and possibilities without any political calculations, saying what politicians usually hush up and perhaps sometimes do not even see, unlike a responsible army planner—which is what Kruzel considered himself to be. He started from a simple fact: "Macedonia is a small country, but it has a prominent place in our strategic calculations." All scenarios for and around Macedonia start from this fact.

In the last year, a lot of things have changed for Macedonia and in the Balkans. However, one can reread the interview of that time and it is still up-to-date.

About 10 days ago, the Republic of Macedonia signed two NATO SOFA [Status of Forces Agreement] agreements for the regulation of the status of the forces of NATO-member countries and the Partnership for Peace on our territory, which apply equally to Macedonian troops, after which bilateral diplomatic notes on the regulation of the U.S.-Macedonian defense cooperation were exchanged. As a journalist might say—an agreement on the deployment of U.S. troops on Macedonia's

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territory. We are not going to speculate on whether Kruzel had precisely such a situation in mind. Nevertheless, a bilateral military agreement with Macedonia was an option that had been considered in detail in the Pentagon as a very probable alternative, regardless of the conditions in which it might be necessary. The fact is very simple—the Americans came here to stay, not to leave. "The future of the military cooperation is very good, and it has potential," President Kiro Gligorov said after his talks with U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in Skopje on 12 June. Apart from this part of the Macedonian president's statement, nothing that was said during Perry's half-day stay in Skopje, particularly his speech in the Assembly, coincided with the statement that Richard Clark, President Clinton's special envoy and director of global issues of National Defense, made after his talks with President Gligorov, Ministers Handziski and Frckovski, and Henryk Sokalsky, the UN secretary general's special envoy, on the future of UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] and the continued presence of the U.S. troops after the withdrawal of the UN mission. After the talks, Mr. Clark emphasized that all questions would be discussed in detail during Perry's visit to Skopje. The cabinet of Defense Minister Handziski stated that full agreement had been reached on the key questions in the talks with Mr. Clark, but there have been no official statements in the mass media and there is the impression that everything was passed in "protocol."

Why Are the Americans in Macedonia?

It is hardly to "indicate great U.S. concern for the security of the Republic of Macedonia," as Macedonian Assembly Chairman Tito Petkovski said. In order to make it clear—the United States has 963 soldiers in the UN peacekeeping forces, of whom 560 are in Macedonia. In spite of all the efforts to cut the U.S. Army budget and the U.S. participation in peace operations, the mission in Macedonia was defended strongly. The same happened at the six-monthly vote on the continuation of the mandate in the Security Council. It was hardly because of Macedonia alone.

It is almost definite that the next UNPREDEP mandate will not be extended, and it is hard to believe that the United States wishes to do so after some other arrangements have been made. The fact that UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali has insisted on submitting his report to the Security Council by 30 September speaks for itself. UNPREDEP has always been linked, first of all, to its mission to prevent the spread of war from the north to the south. This was also why the troops were deployed on the northern Macedonian border. By the end of September, the elections in Bosnia will be over, and nothing dramatic is expected to occur in Kosovo either. The incomplete equipment of the Macedonian Army is an important fact for the security of the state, but it is not vital in conditions of lowered tensions and a full stop to the war.

There remains a fourth element as a reason for the continuation of the UNPREDEP mandate, as indicated by Minister Frckovski in his letter to Mr. Butrus-Ghali—Greek-Turkish relations—for which he has been strongly criticized by people from the Defense Ministry in their talks with journalists, who say that views have not been coordinated. It is precisely the escalation of the Greek-Turkish dispute in the Aegean Sea that represents the main threat to peace at present. It seems, however, that the region will be relaxed this summer, until the inner-party turmoil in PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] is overcome, a new government is elected in Turkey, and even possible early elections are held in the autumn. Following this, there will be two dramatic months until November and the strong pressure that will be applied to President Clinton in the presidential campaign, because if he wins another mandate in the White House, the Greek lobby will have no influence on him in the next four years. At the same time, both countries will have the time to complete their armament, and Greece will suffer losses, particularly because of the European restrictions on its military budget. We will be faced with a drama in early autumn. On the other hand, however, the U.S. military presence in Macedonia will be relaxing for Greece. This is why we should not get overexcited at the announcements of tension in the relations between Skopje and Athens, particularly if this is aimed at the promotion of [Greek Prime Minister] Simitis's position in the party. It is hard to believe that Greece could afford to open another hotbed of crisis on its border, although this is exactly what a group of PASOK members asked for in their memorandum—a swift attack regarding all important Greek national questions. As far as the threat to halt investments and end government support for the economic cooperation with Macedonia, it will certainly not be wise to choose such weapons in the struggle about the differences over the name, let alone to believe that pressure will yield results. By the way, the losses will be felt on both sides.

The Greek-Turkish dispute is something that the United States can simply not allow to explode, although it seems that the present controlled neurosis is a good safety valve for the incited passions in both countries.

However, the Americans will be in Macedonia not only because of this. Here is Kosovo, of course, and the far more pragmatic solutions to the problem than the European stance. Furthermore, it is probable that the U.S. forces will remain in Bosnia as NATO forces

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together with the other allies and that the situation in Bulgaria will become complex, as will the whole southern wing of the Alliance, which can now hardly be seen as a defensive wing.

For now, our reliable source says that all discussions are being directed toward a mere review of the total situation, which is the reason for making calculations and presenting ideas on including Macedonia in NATO plans. The domestic situation in the United States does not offer the possibility to open bases, but it allows the possibility for forces to, for instance, participate in joint military exercises of mobile joint units with the Macedonian Army. This means that the number of troops will be changeable and the duration will not be fixed. Nevertheless, this is all part of the current phase of discussion and strategic movements in the region.

FYROM: 'Fury' Among Albanians Over Poisoned Students

AU1406195196

[FBIS Report] Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian on 14 June reports that besides the inevitable anxiety caused by the poisoning of Albanian pupils of the Nikola Stajn Medical High School of Tetovo on the premises of the Galeb Hotel in Struga, the rage and disgust of the Albanian population locally and beyond is growing with every passing day. The fact that the real culprits for this crime have not been detected or identified even after one week shows that there is a genuine basis for their fury. The local media both in Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Albanian languages not only exaggerate the event, giving it cheap publicity, but also trivialize it, as if nothing serious had happened. Besides reports of the state of the poisoned schoolchildren's health, there are almost no signs of how the poisoning happened, who caused it, and whether the state security services are trying to identify or catch those who carried out this inhuman act. Well-informed sources state that the poisoned Albanian schoolchildren are in very serious condition. It is said that their symptoms are the same of those seen among Albanian schoolchildren in several towns of Kosova a few years ago. The usual attempts by the Albanian political establishment in this republic to calm the population with the most assorted promises and lies have brought the reasonable dissatisfaction of the Albanian population to the boiling point. Instead of making sure their voices are heard by Macedonian officials, Albanian political leaders are paying formal visits to the poisoned schoolchildren in hospitals, and without a shred of shame are announcing that light will inevitably be shed on the incident. The visit of the deputy Hysen Ramadani to the hospitalized children in Struga even appears in the first pages of the daily FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT.

It can be understood from all this that those in power are not even superficially interested in exposing the culprits for this crime. Amazingly, even the republican press, including the Albanian-language press, is determined not to identify the real culprits, as can be seen by a series of articles with pompous headlines appearing in the Albanian-language daily FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, which are almost identical to those in the Macedonian daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA. These headlines run, "Nobody Knows What Happened"; "Reasons for the Poisoning Unknown"; "Let Nobody Dare Politicize the Incident," and so forth.

In any case, this behavior on the part of Albanian politicians and the media has not been seen by the Albanian population as anything but bare-faced total indifference to the Albanian electorate and Albanian readers, not to go into basic aspects of the national question. In this case, as ever, the Albanian political leaders are trying hard to obey their masters' orders.

The behavior of the Macedonian Government over this case so far, and the ceaseless activities of their hirelings day and night, require no comment. It is here that the culprits for this crime must be sought.

FYROM: More on 'Poisoning' of Albanian Pupils

AU1406184096

[FBIS Report] Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 11 June and Tirana ATA in English at 2136 GMT on 11 June and 1253 GMT on 12 June carry several reports on "some 110 pupils of the High Medical School in Tetovo being poisoned at the Galeo hotel in Struge town while they were on an excursion."

Tirana Television Network in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 11 June reports: "The diagnosis given by the Macedonian doctors confirmed a case of poisoning by several agents. Meanwhile, tests have been carried out on the patients, but the results have still not been announced. On the other hand, some specialists say that it is a question of the same poisoning and the same symptoms as in the case of the poisoning of Kosovar children in the spring of 1990."

When interviewed by the Albanian Radio-Television correspondent, one of the pupils confirms: "When we returned to our rooms after a walk, the windows were open and one could smell fumes in our room. As our friends smoked, we thought it was the tobacco smoke. But when we were told that the rooms had been cleaned,

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we could not understand how there were fumes in our rooms."

Another pupil confirms: "As soon as I laid on the bed, I felt like vomiting. I told my friend that I was not feeling well. Then I don't know, I lost consciousness. I felt dizzy. My whole body was numb... I do not know why..."

"When we asked about treatment, we were told that there was no treatment. The only treatment is drugs," confirms another poisoned pupil.

"When we were going to sleep, we were told that we should smoke a drug cigarette and go to bed. When we wanted to take a walk, they asked us: Are you looking for drugs?"

The girls interviewed confirm that they "did not receive the test results."

Another Tetovo high school pupil says that, at the hospital, "we had only bread and cheese for the whole day. It was not possible to get enough to eat. We wanted to have food from our parents. They did not allow our parents to give us anything or come and visit us."

Another pupils confirms the "grave provocations at the hospital," adding that "the school principal was the only one allowed to see us." They also add that "after the principal left, they would come to the room and ask what he had told us and what he had taught us to do..."

Tirana ATA in English at 2136 on 11 June reports that the Albanian party leader Nevzat Halili has informed "the chief of the UN mission, Tore Bogh, and the chief of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force], Henryk Sokalski" about the "poisoning."

Tirana ATA in English at 1253 GMT on 12 June reports that "according to confirmations by the UN expert on chemical and biological poisons, Prof. Aubin Hendrix, the massive poisoning of Albanians in Spring 1990 in Kosova was result of the war poison gas 'sarin.'" While, in an interview with ZERI magazine in Pristina, "Hendrix stresses that U.S. experts have carried out tests and compiled reports regarding poisoning in Kosova."

FYROM: Curriculum, Prospects for Tetovo University

AU1206140296 Skopje DNEVNIK in Macedonian 12 Jun 96 p 4

[Article by Ilir Ajdini: "Sulejmani Is not Concerned About Finance: Albanians Pay for the University Because They Have Lively Interest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 1,200 new students will be registered in nine faculties of "Tetovo University" in the next academic year, the third year since its foundation. As Miljam Fejziu, president of the University Senate told us, this year three new faculties will be opened—for agriculture, computers (50 students), and teacher training. The latter will have three departments: for elementary school teachers, preschool teachers, and teachers in professional pedagogy. The philology faculty will continue work with the following departments: Albanian language and literature, English, German, French, and Oriental languages; as will the philosophy faculty with its departments for history and geography, the natural sciences faculty with its departments for mathematics, biology, chemistry, and physics, the law faculty, the economics faculty, and the academy of arts with its departments for painting, music, and drama.

"Tetovo University is a new institution. As such it has problems and difficulties that we are aware of, particularly because the work in this university is done through self-organization of the population at large. They are the ones who provide us with rooms and financial resources.... We cannot say that we have the same conditions as Skopje University or any other university in the world, but they are not bad. It would be nice if we could have our own buildings and could use the state-owned buildings, which were financed in part by the Albanians through taxes and their own labor, but the authorities do not allow us to," the university president, Fadil Sulejmani, says.

"For the most part, the authorities tolerate the University, although from time to time the police halt the students and teachers and take away their personal documents," Sulejmani says. "This University is Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], although they say that it is illegal, that we are allegedly not working in conformity with the regulations, curriculum, and programs, which is not true. We are working in conformity with the same plans and programs that Skopje and Bitola universities are working with, which actually means that we are in the same system. The problem is that the authorities are not willing to accept a dialogue with us right now," the president of the university complains.

Sejfedin Haruni, vice president of the university and member of parliament, says that the University authorities and the political parties of the Albanians will continue to ask the government to acknowledge and make the university official. Sulejmani even expresses willingness to discuss this subject "at any time."

The university leadership's main concern, as they say in Recica [the village where the university is located], is to regulate matters inside the university and to educate

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the students to a level that will enable them to compete in the world professionally and scientifically.

"We ourselves will acknowledge the diplomas, and I am not concerned about the propaganda of those who do not want the Albanians to be educated," Sulejmani says, recalling that "in the last fifty years, the authorities have rarely acknowledged the diplomas of Albanians from Macedonia who studied in former Yugoslavia or elsewhere in the world."

"Regardless of our number, we must enjoy our rights. I am not referring here only to the Albanians, but to all the nationalities—if they wish and have the possibility to do this. We felt the need, wish, and possibility to set up the university. It now enjoys the support of a whole population, because it represents a living issue and an existential need for this nation. We are firm in this view and we will press on till the end. Every provocation would unquestionably lead to a conflict with serious and unforeseen consequences," Sulejmani claims.

Sulejmani is angry with President Gligorov and the authorities. Recalling the Macedonian President's recent statements that "Tetovo University is the creation of a group of Albanian separatists," he says: "We cannot expect Gligorov to change. He is filled with communism, separatism, nationalism, and irredentism, and he knows of nothing else. Whenever the Albanians ask for even an elementary right, he or his team accuse them of wanting to secede. This is how he seeks to justify himself for violating the basic rights of the Albanians. These communists, headed by Gligorov, with their discriminatory and racist views, are more damaging to the Macedonian nation than to the Albanians."

The leaders of "Tetovo University" say that the Albanians in Macedonia need 3,000 teachers for elementary education, 1,000 for preschool education, and over 5,000 for elementary and secondary education. According to their findings, there are about 300 Albanian academic specialists in Macedonia (masters of arts and doctors of science), which represents an excellent potential for this university.

The university is financed through contributions by the Albanians in Macedonia. Every Albanian pays one German mark a month per family member on a voluntary basis. Sulejmani claims that there are also non-Albanians who make this contribution. For this purpose, commissions for the regular collection of this money have been formed in local communities, settlements, and villages inhabited by the Albanian population.

There is a specialist service within the framework of the university that keeps strict records of the whole income. Besides, there are many businessmen who support the university by giving it quite large sums of money (up to 10 to 15,000 German marks).

During the last academic year, the university spent 600-700,000 German marks. It is located in buildings that have been provided free of charge by the local population, and usually neither water nor energy is paid for. The money needed was provided without difficulty, the leaders boast. The students pay 200 German marks per academic year, but those that are not able to pay are exempted. There is a special commission that decides on this.

Sulejmani hopes that they will not be using "allocated" rooms forever and that they will be able to build their own buildings. They also need a residence building and a students' restaurant. Currently, students who do not come from Tetovo or the Tetovo area live in rented accommodation and, as we were told, pay 50 to 100 German marks per month. There are some "owners," however, who do not want any money.

The university leaders are convinced that the university will survive. Their simple calculation goes as follows: Let there be 500,000 Albanians—if each one of us gives one German mark, it makes 500,000 German marks a month, excluding the donations of workers abroad.

[Box, p 4]

Wage of 400 German Marks

Last year, 150 lecturers taught at the university, 27 of whom were women—doctors of science and masters of arts. After the additional three schools are opened in the next academic year, 50 more lecturers will be employed.

Eight Macedonians have applied for jobs and two have been employed. Sulejmani did not tell us their names, explaining that in this situation they would probably be exposed to "various pressures."

For everyone, from the president of the university to the administrators, the pay is 400 German marks, while those who have an additional job beside teaching at the university receive 300 German marks.

[Box, p 4]

15,000 Books Are Not Allowed To Enter From Albania

There are no problems with professional literature, the teachers say. Material from Albania and Kosovo is used, while a number of the lecturers have written schoolbooks themselves. Besides, literature in the Macedonian language is also used, as well as some in Serbian. There are problems with the equipment of the library because of obstruction by the authorities. Sulejmani claims that the authorities will not allow 15,000 books that have been collected in universities in Albania to enter the country. The books are also being taken away from the donors.

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Poland: Deputy Defense Minister, Council of Ministers on NATO

WS1406141396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Jun 96 p 6

[Article by "Z.L.": "Poland on the Road to NATO; Romanticism Can Help"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"As a romantic, I hope that in December of this year or May of next, at the latest, Poland will receive an invitation from NATO to talks on membership in the alliance," Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka, in charge of foreign contacts, told reporters at a news conference yesterday.*

He claims that it will take two to three years from the moment the talks are launched for Poland to become a member. Karkoszka claims that our membership in the alliance is definite. He expressed the opinion that, thanks to three years of cooperating with NATO (within the Partnership for Peace program), Poland has completed the first stage of adapting to the alliance's norms and standards. During this time, Polish officers and soldiers took part in 22 operations. Karkoszka confirmed that Brussels is planning to make an offer to countries taking part in joint NATO peace missions like Poland to help plan such operations in the future. According to the deputy defense minister, in two or three years, Poland will be ready to collaborate with its NATO allies. This will be possible due to the installation of modern radio stations, the introduction of the same encoding and ciphering systems, the equipping by 1999 of all planes with the NATO "friend-enemy" reconnaissance system, and the implementation of a wide range of various procedures.

Karkoszka stressed that the groundwork is being laid to adapt to NATO requirements. Asked by a UPI correspondent how NATO itself will benefit from enlargement, the deputy defense minister said that Poland is a "strategic area" and that it has a large and patriotic Armed Forces. He did not provide further details.

During yesterday's session, the Defense Issues Committee of the Council of Ministers concentrated on an analysis of our advancement in preparations for negotiations with NATO. It also discussed the "NATO Workshop" (Warsaw, 19-23 June), regularly organized by Brussels, that is to be held in a nonmember state for the very first time. Aleksander Kwasniewski and German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe will host the event that is to be attended by four presidents, several prime ministers, more than 20 ministers from NATO partner states, politicians, and NATO leaders (among them John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff).

NATO and Pentagon experts highly acclaimed documents prepared by the Ministry of National Defense and the General Staff on our preparedness for the next round of talks with the alliance. The discussion paper that is to provide the basis for negotiations was deemed exemplary. "We have received signals from Brussels on the big impression the presentation of the preparedness of our Armed Forces to cooperate with NATO forces (so-called interoperability) made," a high-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told us yesterday.

Poland: Czech-German 'Crisis' Viewed

96CH0106A Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 19 Apr 96 p 8

[Article by Teresa Kuczynska: "Is That Merely a Dispute About Wrongs?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Czech Republic, on the occasion of a debate on the declaration of Czech-German reconciliation, fear of the powerful neighbor is growing. The Germans themselves brought it about by denying the validity of the Potsdam Treaty.

Early this year headlines in Czech newspapers referred to Gerd Albrecht, music director of the Czech Philharmonic, a German. He had assumed that position a couple of years earlier, on being offered it by the Czech Minister of Culture Pavel Tigrid. Since then, however, the German conductor has been an irritant to the Czechs because of his nationality. The periodical PRAVO even called for a boycott of the Philharmonic. Things went so far that, under the pressure of public opinion, President Havel ignored an invitation to a gala concert under Albrecht's baton in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Czech Philharmonic. The minister of culture was forced to dismiss Albrecht. He did that on the pretext of "lack of artistic competence."

The dispute about Albrecht became a government affair. The great conductor was supported by the President of Germany Roman Herzog. He asked President Havel for an explanation, which the latter provided in an interview given to the newspaper DER TAGESSPIEGEL. "Concerning Albrecht, what mattered was not any political issues but only artistic ones. This had no connection whatsoever to his nationality."

But it was obvious to everyone that the conductor was the victim of worsening Czech-German relations. The debate about them has been underway in the Czech Republic for a couple of years already, but recently passions got to be so inflamed that this issue has become the most important to the Czechs, even when quaffing beer. It was a great gesture of reconciliation made by Havel in 1989 when he apologized to the Germans

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for the postwar expulsions, but it not only met with no understanding among Czechs, but it also became a reason for a drastic decline in their confidence in the president.

A disputed point about the draft of the declaration of reconciliation is the attitude of Czechs to the expulsion of 3 million Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia immediately after the war. The Germans expect of the Czechs moral satisfaction in the form of an apology and acknowledgment of the lawlessness of that expulsion, the latter to consist in voiding the Benes decrees of 1945 in which the then president of Czechoslovakia deprived Sudeten Germans, collaborators, and traitors of citizenship, and ordered the confiscation of their property and their expulsion from the country.

The Czechs contend that the expulsion of the Germans and the confiscation of their property were historical justice and ensued from the provisions of the Potsdam Treaty of August 1945. (The treaty determined that, among other things, the land east of the Odra and Nysa would be Poland's and that an organized resettlement of the German population to Germany would take place from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.) The Germans offer the reminder that the deportation began earlier, precisely under the decrees of Benes in May 1945. At the time the "wild" deportations caused, according to the Germans, the death of 200,000 deportees, which the Czechs deny.

The facts are as follows: The Sudeten Germans, who had lived in southwestern Czechoslovakia before the war, contributed to the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1938. (Why is this fundamental reason for the postwar resettlement of Germans not mentioned even in one word by the commentators on the Czech-German dispute in GAZETA WYBORCZA and RZECZPOSPOLITA?)

This happened because in 1935 90 percent of the Sudeten Germans supported in Czech elections the fascist party of Konrad Henlein, a Sudeten German whose platform proclaimed the separation of Sudetens from Czechoslovakia and their joining Germany. This opened to Germany the road to Czechoslovakia, which became the first link in the subsequent German "drang nach Osten." In 1938 Czech and Moravian lands became annexed by Germany, followed by deportations of Czechs. (Slovakia seceded from the Czech Republic and formed, with German aid, a country allied with the Germans.)

Thus when nowadays Germans speak of the injustice of postwar deportations of Sudeten Germans, Czechs remind them of these facts. In response to the accusation of the attendant casualties, Czechs offer the reminder of the active participation of precisely Sudeten Germans in war crimes committed against Czechs.

Given such an exchange of arguments, with ever sharper words uttered by both parties, the work on the joint declaration of reconciliation is getting protracted. Czech prejudices against Germans are becoming reborn. Czechs are annoyed by the German-language signs multiplying in their countries, and by the plaques of German banks, stores, and companies. What had until recently pleased them, because it pointed to the influx of foreign capital, now angers them. These feelings are magnified by the glitzy cars with German license plates traversing their country, from which Germans alight carrying land-surveying instruments. They are surveying their former lands.

At the same time cities and villages in the Czech-German borderland are receiving a flood of letters from Sudeten Germans demanding the restitution of prewar property or the payment of compensation. Their identical language and format demonstrate that this is an organized and intensifying drive.

The German question has clearly united the Czechs. Two-thirds of the Czech public view the postwar resettlements as just and are not in the least inclined to favor rescinding the Benes decrees, especially as that would result in acknowledging the right of Sudeten Germans to regain their land and property and move back in.

Mutual relations became especially aggravated early this year owing to a comment made by Klaus Kinkel, German minister of foreign affairs. While discussing the draft of the declaration of Czech-German reconciliation he claimed that to Germans the Potsdam Treaty is not binding, especially as that was not a treaty but the protocol of a conference. Besides, he said, international agreements are binding only on the parties that made and signed them. The Germans were not among these parties in Potsdam.

In the Czech media this comment by Klaus Kinkel was termed "a disgrace that had never before been committed by a representative of the German Government."

"What is the purpose of the discussion of the legal invalidity of the Potsdam Treaty?" the Czechs ask. "Are we to rewrite history to please the Germans?" Some major commentators believe that the Czech issue is "a trial balloon of German foreign policy. Bonn is testing to see whether the big powers would accept it if Germany were to start destabilizing the postwar order established in Potsdam."

Michal Lobkovic, cabinet chief at the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, deputy to parliament, and a rising star

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of Czech foreign policy, is trying to assuage the Czech public's fears of the powerful neighbor. He believes that this can be done only by a clear and strong declaration by the German Government that it will neither raise the question of restituting German property nor demand declaring postwar expulsions to be lawless.

Some commentators are trying to minimize the importance of the Czech-German crisis. They reduce it to a factor in the campaign before the May elections in the Czech Republic. But a majority of Czechs feel that this concerns something more than that.

This also concerns the future integration of the Czech Republic into the European Community. By now only less than half of the Czech public would like to be in it. How can the prospect of joining the European Union be attractive to Czechs, Lobkovic asks, unless the claims of the Sudeten Germans be dropped once and for all? Fear of the European Union is nowadays part of fear of Germany. Joining the Community would mean the free return of the hated Sudeten Germans who had caused the annexation of Czechoslovakia in 1938 by the Third Reich. Will they not again influence a change in borders, a real even if not a formal change?

Poland: Daily on Contents of Vanished UOP Documents

WS1406140096 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 14 Jun 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Zbigniew Wasik, "GOL," "ZW": "What Was Taken From the UOP Division in Gdansk; Files Under Special Protection"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A special commission of the Office of State Protection [UOP] is to investigate the circumstances under which documents marked as "confidential of special importance" disappeared from the UOP Gdansk division. The fact that the files were lost (?) was recently revealed by Colonel Adam Hodysz, chief of the UOP Gdansk division, who had been reappointed by Interior Minister Siemiatkowski.*

It is unknown what the lost documents contained because no one wants to talk about it, which is hardly surprising. Considering the number of secret documents and information that has been revealed recently, this fact should not take on greater significance.

The information published to date indicates that the documents Hodysz could not find upon his return to the Gdansk division of UOP contained the files of an agent called "Bolek." Some claim these files led to his dismissal in 1993.

There is an interesting story about the archives of the UOP Gdansk division. When Jan Olszewski was prime minister, Antoni Macierewicz interior minister, and Piotr Naimski the UOP chief and Adam Hodysz's superior, some very important documents were removed from the UOP Gdansk division. There is nothing strange in moving documents from a regional office to headquarters. The fact, however, that extraordinary precaution measures were taken indicates that these documents must have been extremely important.

The documents were convoyed from Gdansk to Warsaw by men in bullet-proof vests, who were in turn safeguarded by troops from the top-secret military Mobile and Operational Reaction Group "GROM," which has taken part in military operations not only in Poland, but also beyond its borders, in, among other places, Haiti.

What precious material were the men in bullet-proof vests protecting to warrant the employment of an elite military unit? That question could be answered by Piotr Naimski, if he were willing. Perhaps it could be answered by Lech Walesa or his closest colleague, Mieczyslaw Wachowski. We had better not count on an answer, however.

Adam Hodysz was first dismissed from the Security Service [SB] and answered to a court for collaborating with Solidarity back when it was still an underground movement. Still a captain at the time, Hodysz was sentenced to six years imprisonment for contacts with Solidarity, of which he served more than four.

In 1990 Hodysz was appointed head of the UOP division in Gdansk. On 2 September 1993, to the astonishment of the public, he was dismissed at President Lech Walesa's clear request.

The orders to dismiss Hodysz were delivered to Gdansk personally by the then UOP deputy chief, Gromoslaw Czempinski. Hodysz's successor was Henryk Zabicki, head of the surveillance department, who was responsible for, among other things, guarding President Walesa's family.

Walesa explained the reason he was exerting pressure to have Hodysz dismissed by saying that "anyone who has proved disloyal once can prove disloyal again." What was Walesa afraid of? Could it be that Hodysz knew too much?

Sometime later, when the strictly protected documents had been deposited in a "safe place" (which naturally remains unknown), the then President Lech Walesa disclosed that he had purchased a file the SB had on him. The details of the transaction are unknown, particularly because Walesa, as is his custom, changed his story several times. He no longer emphasized the fact that he had once signed something at the SB only so they would leave him alone.

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The media did not show much interest in the fact that the UOP Gdansk division lost the documents. Perhaps this was because disappearing documents at UOP are nothing unusual, perhaps because this case cannot be used to wage a political war against the governing coalition in any way.

It is said on the coast that the documents contain a thorough report on the surveillance of Lech Walesa, which he could have accessed in the days when he was president—hence his statements that he is able to document every move he has made since 1970. Others claim that the vanished documents contained reports on contacts leaders of the opposition of the time had with foreign intelligence agents. According to another theory, these could have been the complete files of SB collaborators from major companies on the coast, among them the Gdansk Shipyard. Rumor has it that, among the missing documents is a file on the contacts Grigoriy Yakimishin [KGB officer involved in the Oleksy case], employed at the Gdansk division of the NOVOSTI Press Agency at the time, had with top regional authorities and local reporters.

Poland: Lech Walesa Accuses Secret Service of Provocation

LD1406124396 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Former President Lech Walesa has said in an interview for Gdansk radio that the government is primarily responsible for the collapse of the Gdansk Shipyard.

[Begin Walesa recording] We must remember that the majority of shares, 60 percent, are owned by the ministry, the state. It is the state that has been paralyzing most of the measures proposed and has turned down most of the solutions. Whoever owns the most shares also bears the most responsibility. Whoever has the majority of shares must do something and not try to shirk it. [end recording]

Lech Walesa denies that he possesses the missing documents from the Gdansk State Protection Office [UOP] division. Adam Hodysz, head of the Gdansk UOP division, has set up an investigative commission to establish culpubility for the disappearance of some top secret documents.

[Begin Walesa recording] The documents I mentioned before had been destroyed by the commies in Swiecie [town in northern Poland]. Those were different documents.

I shall say this to Hodysz's men: We shall soon set up another commission to investigate the matter of the 88 files you destroyed in Swiecie. Those were the important documents, not the provocation you set up—which failed anyway—involving Bolek [allegedly Walesa's code name] and others. Stop fooling around and start working properly. [end recording]

[Begin unidentified interviewer recording] President, so you do not have in your possession any documents marked top secret that originated in the Gdansk UOP division?

[Begin Walesa recording] I do not have those documents in my possession, but I do know that such documents existed and still exist, and that not everything was destroyed in Swiecie. [end recording]

Poland: UOP Cleared of Involvement in 1995 Elections

LD1406192796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sejm special services committee has said that the State Protection Office [UOP] was not involved in last year's presidential election campaign. The committee had been investigating this matter at the instigation of deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Deputy Andrzej Zelazowski of the SLD said that the committee, after questioning witnesses and analyzing the available material, established that UOP had not violated the law during the campaign and was not involved on the side of any of those taking part.

[Begin unidentified voice recording] As a result of questioning a number of people and familiarizing itself with documents, the committee states that it does not possess any evidence to show that the special services were involved in the presidential election campaign or that they were infiltrated by any political groupings. [end recording]

Deputy Andrzej Zelazowski also reported that it would not be until next week that the committee would continue the discussion that had been started on Wednesday [12 June] on the order given by UOP head Andrzej Kapkowski to monitor unrest and strikes at major enterprises. The committee is also to evaluate the ban issued by Andrzej Kapkowski on UOP officers having contacts with politicians and the press.

Poland: Oleksy Wants Information on Spying Case Published

LD1506193696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jozef Oleksy, the leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], has criticized the opposition for trying to find political

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motives for the decision to announce the bankruptcy of Gdansk Shipyard. The former prime minister gave an assurance that the SdRP will do everything it can to help Gdansk shipyard workers.

Jozef Oleksy also expressed the conviction that the new constitution should be adopted in spring of next year—that is, before parliamentary elections—to avoid the constitution's becoming an element in a political game. According to the former prime minister, only after the adoption of the constitution should state-church relations be regulated. In his opinion, the draft of the Concordat is unacceptable in its present form.

Jozef Oleksy said that he is eagerly awaiting the publication of the white paper, not on the Oleksy case, but on the Walesa and Milczanowski case.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I do not agree on the use of the term so-called Oleksy case. Let us call it the Walesa and Milczanowski case because, for a long time now, there has been no Oleksy case. I would like to draw your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to the custom prevailing in the mass media, starting with television, of using the term "the Sejm commission on the Oleksy case." They have no right to do this. The name of the commission does not include anybody's surname. I have always been in favor—and have firmly voiced my demand—that everything concerning this matter that could be published should be published. Only such a public move makes sense and may help to sort out this issue.

I am only afraid that a distinctly selective approach may occur here. This could diminish the role of the white paper. Some people have been telling me that such a selective approach may occur because of various regulations and reasons. I do not know whether that is really true. [end recording]

Poland: Further on Resignation of Prime Minister's Crime Aide

WS1406121596 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Jun 96 p 2

[Report by Jerzy Jachowicz and Pawel Wronski: "Founder of 'Grom' Defeated by Bureaucrats; Petelicki's Resignation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Colonel Slawomir Petelicki, recently appointed the prime minister's plenipotentiary to combat organized crime, resigned yesterday. He is accusing the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] of negligence.*

Yesterday Prime Minister Cimoszewicz accepted the resignation.

Arrogant Rydlewski

Col. Petelicki, founder and commander of the famous "Grom" ["Thunder"] supercommando unit, appointed on 13 May to be the prime minister's plenipotentiary, was to fight organized crime. "All I met with at URM was arrogance and slothfulness," he told GAZETA WYBORCZA yesterday.

At a news conference held in the palace near the Lazienki Park yesterday, Petelicki read the letter of resignation he had sent to the prime minister: "I wish to state that Secretary of State Grzegorz Rydlewski did not follow the instructions you gave him in my presence (...) and that by 7 June he had still failed to define my official status, duties, and prerogatives."

Petelicki said that, ever since his appointment on 13 May, he has not been provided with office space, telephones, fax machines, or desks for his workers. "This is my whole office," he said, pointing to his gray briefcase and cellular phone.

I Would Not Have Been Idle

Petelicki says he resigned because the next day he was to attend a meeting of plenipotentiaries of prime ministers from the Baltic states in Stockholm, where he knows a lot of the politicians, and thus did not want to show up as an "unemployed pensioner." "I attempted to schedule a meeting with you on 10 and 11 June," he wrote in his letter to the prime minister, "but I was unable to even speak with you on the phone."

Petelicki claims Rydlewski is responsible for blocking him at URM. "He was incapable of elaborating a statute for my office," he says. "I asked URM lawyers for help, and they put one together very quickly. Mr. Rydlewski said he had to do it himself, yet he did not do anything."

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense had promised to delegate several employees to Petelicki's office. "Top experts from the Office of State Protection and the Military Information Services wanted to work with me, a number of embassies offered their help, but URM did not agree to as little as two and a half full-time positions," says the colonel.

"Thus far, I considered my function a civic one. I think it is absolutely necessary to have someone who would coordinate the combat of organized crime at a time when 'triads'—crime organizations from Hong Kong—are targeting Poland, and the Cali cocaine cartel has a representative here."

Handy Secrets

Petelicki claims Rydlewski does not understand what operational work is. He recently showed him a docu-

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ment from his files containing the cryptonyms of operations and data on foreign cooperation. Petelicki says such documents are top secret. "I was shocked when I saw where Mr. Rydlewski kept it," he said. Petelicki added that Interior Minister Siemiatkowski had been informed about his problems with URM, but there was not much the interior minister could do.

Siemiatkowski himself explained Petelicki's decision yesterday by saying that he is a front-line officer and has no experience with fighting bureaucracy. "He should be more patient," he added. However, during the late evening edition of "Panorama" [main newscast on second channel of Polish Television], Rydlewski denied that the aforesaid document was classified material.

As we were speaking with Petelicki at his home, an URM employee called, suggesting a meeting with URM head Leszek Miller. "Fine," Petelicki replied. A few minutes later he heard Miller comment on his resignation on the radio: "The hot weather seems to affect some people this way."

"There will be no meeting with Mr. Miller," the colonel decided.

Poland: Crime Commissioner Explains Decision To Resign

LD1406152496 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2240 GMT 13 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Colonel Slawomir Petelicki, who resigned yesterday from his post as government plenipotentiary for combating organized crime, has told our program he is convinced that both the prime minister and the minister of internal affairs had sincere intentions when they created the post of government plenipotentiary. The decision was not implemented because, according to Col. Petelicki, the plan clashed with a plan for setting up a future superministry for administration and internal affairs:

[Begin Petelicki recording] I would like to add that tomorrow, after the return of prosecutor Rychlik [from a conference on organized crime in Stockholm], who, together with me, was a fellow creator of the Polish plan, I shall see him to show him the document I mentioned yesterday. The document should have been marked secret. After consulting him, I shall probably report that a crime has been committed. [end recording]

The document mentioned by Slawomir Petelicki contains information on operations being currently conducted against the mafia. According to Petelicki, a Council of Ministers official who had the document in his possession broke the State Secrets Law. (endall) 132240 cohen/pn 14/1525

Poland: Eastern Border Guards To Get Two New Helicopters

LD1406172096 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Border guards in eastern Poland are to get two modern Kania helicopters. The helicopters have been ordered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the Swidnik PZL plant.

[Unidentified correspondent] The Kania helicopters have been adapted to patrol border areas. They are equipped with, among other things, powerful searchlights, acoustic devices, and thermovision cameras. The helicopters are very maneuverable and quick. The allocation of new equipment to the eastern border guards is connected with the stepping up of controls in this border area. More than 20 foreigners, mainly citizens of Iraq and Egypt trying to enter Poland illegally, have been detained since January.

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Romania: Exit Poll Shows Ciorbea Winner in Bucharest Runoff

AU1706095496 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 17 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] An exit poll conducted during yesterday's runoff elections by the TELE 7 ABC private television channel and the Data media company at the request of the PRO TV private television network and the daily LIBERTATEA indicates that Mr. Victor Ciorbea, the candidate of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] to the post of Bucharest general mayor, ranked first with approximately 65 percent of the votes.

Appearing successively on PRO TV and ANTENA 1 television, Victor Ciorbea, who was visibly moved by the exit poll results he had just learned of, declared that from now on the task of fulfilling the program entitled "A Contract With the People of Bucharest" belongs to his team.

Furthermore, Ciorbea emphasized the political significance of the ballots cast in the local elections, which had propelled the CDR ahead of all other parties.

Victor Ciorbea also paid homage to the memory of Corneliu Coposu [opposition leader who died one year ago], who had supported him in becoming the CDR candidate.

Romania: Iliescu, Political Leaders on Mayoral Election

AU1606143196 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1005 GMT 16 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement made this morning at about 0900, after having cast his ballot at the polling station at the Jean Monet High School in Bucharest, Romanian President Ion Iliescu told reporters that whatever the political party of the candidates who are currently running in the mayoral races, those who are elected will become the representatives of the citizens, and thus cease serving the interests of the parties, but rather the interests of the community.

PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Executive President Adrian Nastase, who went to vote at Polling Station 108 in the second constituency of the Bucharest first district, was of the opinion that a grand finale was taking place in Bucharest, and he expressed hope that the candidates of his party would win.

Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said that the results of the local elections would represent a general gauge for the legislative elections this fall, but that a difficult and important period would have to be traversed before then.

Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], expressed faith in the chances of the CDR candidates, whom he presented as the new political generation of young and competent people, who are good managers, and whose moral conduct is unstained.

Our reporters also obtained the political declarations made by other political leaders. Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party, stated that he was opting for a Bucharest General Mayor's Office team consisting of representatives of the CDR and the USD [Social-Democratic Union], and that he hoped this united opposition dynamics would be continued into the legislative and presidential elections as well.

Ion Diaconescu, leader of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], believes that the CDR currently ranks first on the Romanian political scene, and added that he was optimistic that the CDR would win, quote, the final victory, unquote.

Victor Ciorbea, the CDR candidate running for the post of Bucharest general mayor, also expressed confidence in his victory. Ciorbea added that he had voted for a general mayor who would implement a coherent and stable program, serving the interests of the capital city's population.

Ilie Nastase, PDSR candidate running for the office of Bucharest general mayor, stated that his chance were equal to those of his opponent, Victor Ciorbea, after which he urged as many Bucharest citizens as possible to go and vote.

PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] President Ilie Verdet said that it was too early to anticipate who would be elected Bucharest general mayor, while PRM [Greater Romania Party] leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor recommended that all Bucharest citizens show up at the polling stations, as this right of theirs is the first step on the path to irreversibly installing democracy in Romania.

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Federal

FRY: FM Milutinovic Pleased With Florence Summit Results

AU1406190496 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 14 Jun 96

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic by Nada Dragic Radosavljevic in Florence on 14 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radosavljevic] The Florence conference is over. Mr. Minister, what are your impressions?

[Milutinovic] This is a very important conference. After six months the total results in the realization of the Dayton accord have been summed up. I believe that these results are very significant, that the international community in the joint document, actually in the conclusive speech by Chairman Dini, presented and summed up all these results in the civilian as well as the military sector. I believe that much has been accomplished and that it was evident on this occasion.

However, what was very significant at this conference is that the date of the elections, which will be held throughout the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, in both entities, was practically confirmed. Today we also had the opportunity to sign the agreement on regional disarmament, which is a fact of considerable importance. After six months of talks in Vienna and the failure to sign this document in Oslo a few days ago we nevertheless managed to sign this document today. This is a document of outstanding importance for the stability and peace in the region. What is even more significant is that its signing paves the way to the realization of Article 5 of the accord, which speaks of the total regional balance of powers in the Balkans, so to speak; therefore, it also involves talks with Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania and so forth. This will round up the entire problem of regional disarmament and arms control.

Naturally, today we had the chance to learn who the arbiters for Brcko will be, which is also an important provision from Dayton. Everything that had been agreed on in Dayton practically happened to the minute, at least in these first six months. This would be all.

FRY: Gen Perisic Stresses Need for 'Extremely Strong' Army

AU1506202096 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 15 Jun 96

[Address by General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the Yugoslav Army General Staff, at a ceremony marking Yugoslav Army Day in Belgrade on 15 June—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to greet you cordially, and thank you for attending the ceremony marking our common holiday, 16 June, Yugoslav Army Day. This date was chosen as a tribute to the event of 120 years ago, when the first war alliance accord was struck between Serbia and Montenegro, although their state unity in various forms dates back to the beginning of the organization of the states of Slav peoples in the Balkans.

Serbia and Montenegro have for centuries fought defense wars and wars of liberation for their survival, always under the same flag, as cocombatants or close allies, and mostly against the same enemies. During this most recent history, which has not yet been written, following the tragic breakup of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro have remained tightly linked in the common state of the FRY, and they have not considered joining the ranks of those currently more powerful and aggressive.

The FRY is surrounded by some 2.5 million soldiers in combative armed forces, in a region that is still exposed to contradictory and uncertain processes. That is why all those who succumb to dilemmas as to whether to have and develop a modern army, or not have an army at all, are completely wrong. Historical experience tells us that in this region extremely strong and well-equipped armed forces are necessary at all times, forces that will be prepared to make great sacrifices. History should be studied closely, and its messages learned.

There is no need for me to speak about how and why the SFRY was broken up. You know most of it, while the professional soldiers know every detail. However, one should constantly analyze ways of preserving the existing state and supporting the survival of the Serb people outside its borders. In this region, on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, objectively speaking all the nations are endangered, and particularly the Serbs. All the alleged concern about the other nations being endangered by the Serbs is artificial, and serves the interest of achieving the aims that we know so well. Many have their own interests, and some invented historical rights in this region, so they wish to conquer it in any form. However, our interest and right to keep

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this territory for all the citizens and future generations is more vital and more strong, as it is true.

After the lifting of the unprecedented isolation and blockade, they have again started coming to us, old and new, tested and untested friends, and they have started inviting us to them, too. It is up to us how many of them there will be, and what their attitude will be toward our country in future. Our country, the FRY, is neither small nor weak, regardless of all the trials it has been through. There is room for all well-intentioned people in it. No potentially aggressive neighboring country—whatever the [word indistinct] it can count on—represents a respectable, great, or regional power to us. We are a serious country, ready and capable of defending itself. The defense issues are the most serious, the most important ones, and our leadership and all the citizens approach them as such. That gives us, professional soldiers, justified optimism, confidence, and hope that we will be able to carry out all the tasks set before us. In this context I wish to stress that all international peace-loving factors will find a most reliable friend and partner in the FRY and the Yugoslav Army, while all enemies with aggressive intentions will meet a worthy adversary.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are strengthening the Yugoslav Army as the heart of defense, the freedom and independence of the FRY, which in case of armed aggression will be the first to lead and the last to stop in the defense of its country. Over the last several years we have prevented the spread of war to the territory of the FRY, and assisted our people within our abilities to survive in their centuries-old homesteads. This was not done with talk and propaganda, but with combat readiness and everyday hard work. We have been a stabilizing factor in the country. We have supported the unity of our people, and preserved the territory given to us to defend by the Constitution. We have deterred the aspirations of some (?great) powers. We have enabled our representatives to have realistic safety, from their starting position to the final solutions, during the many negotiations. In all the agreements our representatives accepted only the solutions that were possible and rational under the given circumstances. The fact that the wishes and ambitions of many exceed realistic possibilities must not be seen as an expression of real and genuine patriotism. It is only self-praise and an attempt to achieve partial interests without obligations and responsibilities.

The members of the Yugoslav Army are undertaking enormous efforts to create a modern and well-armed force in line with the defense needs of the country and its financial possibilities. Great efforts are being put into educating a professional officers' corps that will be relentless and capable of training its units in the freedom-loving tradition and experience of the centuries of wars of liberation, but also in state-of-the-art military doctrine and relevant scientific disciplines. In the future the Yugoslav Army will develop as a modern army, organized, equipped, and trained in a modern fashion, but also as a numerically smaller and partially professionalized armed force. Its maneuvering abilities and firepower will increase, but with the strength of its peacetime component it will be able to prevent any form of aggression against the FRY, and create the conditions for a successful campaign in an imposed war, even under the most unfavorable of circumstances.

Considering the region and everything that has happened to us over the last few years, we are obliged to increase the unity and strength of the FRY, as only in that way can we preserve its independence and integrity, and the freedom of all its citizens regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation. At the same time we will be the most sincere advocates of peace and stability in the region to which we belong.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank you again for coming to make this ceremony even more glorious. I wish to greet you on behalf of the members of the Yugoslav Army, and to convey to you that they are determined and consistent followers of their noble ancestors, who will know how to preserve our traditions in peace, but also how to make the greatest sacrifices, until final victory, in case of war. Thank you.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic, Assistant Secretary Kornblum Confer

LD1506125596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 15 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (Tanjug)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state, who has arrived in Belgrade at the head of a U.S. team involved in realizing the Dayton Agreement, President Milosevic's office has announced.

During the talks, particular consideration was given to preparations for the upcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular the successful resolution of problems relating to freedom of movement and paving the way for free access to the media.

Information and standpoints were exchanged on a whole range of civilian and political aspects with regard to realization of the peace agreement.

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During the meeting current questions were raised relating to bilateral relations between the FRY and the United States, and it was stated that this process is developing in a positive way and that the normalization of bilateral relations between the two countries serves to strengthen peace and stability in the region.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic also participated in the talks.

Montenegro

Montenegro: PM Djukanovic Discusses Relations With Serbia

AU1706105396 Zagreb NACIONAL in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 96 pp 11-12

["Exclusive" interview with Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic by Igor Kolovrat in Podgorica; date not given: "I Have Told the Americans: If Montenegro Is Not Equal to Serbia in Yugoslavia, We Will Consider Other Options, Including Secession!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sanctions have done their job. We are facing serious economic and social repercussions. Social product in Montenegro is two times smaller than in 1989, and we would like to raise for a bit more than 20 percent this year, says Milo Djukanovic, prime minister of the Republic of Montenegro, while we sit in his office [sentence as published].

The Montenegrin prime minister is also the president of the "Auto Club of Yugoslavia," a formerly excellent basketball player, and has recently visited the United States in search of support for his country, which has become increasingly disobedient to Serbia. That visit has prompted a great deal of speculation about whether the former fierce advocate of Milosevic's policy had really changed his mind about Montenegrin statehood and independently gone to Washington to ask, among other things, for Montenegro's admission into the IMF. Or is it, nevertheless, some other kind of double-dealing?

Specifically, some Montenegrin political circles claim that such contacts and meetings had taken place even before that and that they could have not happened without the knowledge of the federal authorities.

[Kolovrat] What is your opinion of Montenegro's position over the past six years? Do you think it could have played a more independent and thus more important role in this region?

[Djukanovic] Regarding Montenegro's overall position toward the (post)Yugoslav crisis, I think we have taken a good direction. I want to say that we were against the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and that we had been trying to preserve it in a more or less appropriate way. Later, when we had to decide whether we wanted to live in a sovereign state or stay in Yugoslavia, the citizens decided in a referendum to stay in Yugoslavia. So, at the same time that was a sort of imperative imposed on the executive authorities.

[Kolovrat] Serbia, it seems, wants to maintain the socialist model of social ownership, and Montenegro insists upon privatization and a free market. Can the FRY become one state with two social systems?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro wants to privatize in order to have a more economically efficient society. Montenegro is moving toward democratization. Apart from that, Montenegro is a civic state: Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Albanians live here, and we want it to stay that way. Furthermore, Montenegro wants intensive communications with the world. We want to open up entirely, both economically and politically. The best illustration of our economic opening is the "Montenegro—Free Economic Zone" project, which we are preparing. In the political sphere, we want to join European integration efforts as soon as possible.

In Serbia, there are certain differences or hesitations toward such a clearly defined orientation of Montenegro. Therein lies the source of the disagreements.

Equal Factor

[Kolovrat] Can those disagreements lead to the independence of Montenegro?

[Djukanovic] I wouldn't jump to conclusions. We think Yugoslavia is still worth fighting for. We have said that we want to be an equal partner in it; that it has to be a democratic community; and that it must be a state of private economy, with economic stability, open to the world. If this works, there is no reason for anxiety in such a state. However, if our equality is jeopardized, we will certainly reconsider our stands and think about other solutions. These are not exaggerated requests by Montenegro but the bedrock of civization upon which the contemporary world has been organized.

[Kolovrat] Is it true that among some two hundred diplomats of the "FRY," there are only about 10 Montenegrins?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro is not a state with a short history, so it does not suffer from an inferiority complex, which might cause it to insist upon, for instance, a 50-percent share in diplomacy. We will not insist on Montenegro accounting for 50 percent of the staff in each Yugoslav embassy, but we must be more equal where important foreign policy questions are being discussed. We consider our relations with the

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neighboring former Yugoslav republics to be most important, followed by relations with the EU, and finally, with the United States. We are not at all satisfied with the number and positions of Montenegrins in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On many occasions we have publicly protested and criticized the Federal Ministry.

Yugoslavia's constitution states that the republics have a certain independence in conducting their foreign policy. We have taken that for granted, and we want to present our specific qualities in our foreign policy activities. On the occasion of our talks in America, we succeeded to a large degree.

[Kolovrat] Recently there has been a lot of talk about changing the so-called Zabljak Constitution. There are claims that the new one, the so-called Avala Constitution, has already been written and that it will reduce Montenegro's federal powers. Will such constitutional changes really take place soon?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro is not in this joint state out of necessity but by choice. That being said, we will not allow Montenegro to be discriminated against. We have written the Constitution together, and it is based upon the principle of equality between the two republics. Anyone who tries to violate that principle must know that he is working toward the destruction of our joint state!

[Kolovrat] Is it true that in Washington you requested Montenegro's admission into the IMF and the World Bank, saying in addition that you are pressuring Serbia to abandon the irrational idea of the legal continuity of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]?

[Djukanovic] I spoke with very high officials, vice presidents, and executive directors of the IMF and the World Bank in charge of Europe. We discussed how to arrange for Montenegro, within Yugoslavia, to be integrated into the international financial institutions as soon as possible. They told me that, according to their statutes, it is possible to talk about Montenegro only in terms of the existing constitutional and legal organization of "FRY." I told them that Montenegro has been putting heavy pressure on the Federal Government by asking that the National Bank of Yugoslavia be completely cooperative with the IMF and its requests in order to create conditions for new arrangements with the world financial institutions.

Speaking of continuity and succession, things which I also discussed in America, one must know that Montenegro has the smallest debt of all successors to the SFRY. Toward the end of 1992, the Yugoslav Government said it accepted the attributed 36.52 percent of the rights and obligations of the former state. One must stick to that principle and normalize relations as soon as possible with the other successors. Regarding the constitutional status, FRY believes that in the United Nations, it should be treated the same way as Russia, which inherited the place of USSR. I think it is also in the interest of Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia.

Burden of Refugees

[Kolovrat] Why hasn't the border between Montenegro and Croatia been opened? Is Prevlaka the only problem, or is there something else?

[Djukanovic] It has to do with Prevlaka and the normalization of relations. As you know, the state border between Montenegro, as part of Yugoslavia, and Croatia, on sea and on land, has not been defined. There are also three border areas with Bosnia that are also open to questions.

[Kolovrat] Belgrade said Montenegro has received only a smallnumber of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. What is Montenegro's policy regarding that question?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro has borne the largest burden of refugees of any territory in the former Yugoslavia. A total of 12 percent of our inhabitants are refugees: 70,000 refugees out of a total of 600,000 inhabitants. In Montenegro today, there are Muslim, Croat, and Serb refugees. So, we have had no prejudices. We have admitted the Croats from Bosnia into Montenegro without any preconditions. There are accurate lists, and we have shown our reception centers to representatives of international organizations. These people enjoy the same rights as citizens of Montenegro. That means they havebeen able to find employment to the same extent that citizens of Montenegro have been able to find employement. The unemployed get social assistance. They have a right to health care and education.

[Kolovrat] The Croatian public was rather displeased to hear Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic say that soon the Montenegrin flag would wave over Prevlaka. What is your view of the solution of the dispute over Prevlaka?

[Djukanovic] If we did not consider the Prevlaka issue to be disputable, it would not have such a status. I know that from Croatia's point of view, Prevlaka is considered an indisputable part of its state territory, just as we consider Prevlaka a constituent part of Yugoslavia.

The issue of Prevlaka must be solved by diplomatic means, with intensive diplomatic activity by those two countries, and with the participation of the international community. It would be good to solve that question as

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soon as possible, then agree upon the mutual recognition of Croatia and Yugoslavia. If one cannot achieve that in the short term, then we can mutually recognize each other and solve the point of Prevlaka afterward. We have made many arguments about Prevlaka belonging to Yugoslavia. After that, an oral agreement was made in Dayton. According to our information, thanks to internal political tensions, Croatia has nevertheless, in the end, given up such an agreement.

[Kolovrat] What is the position of the Croats in Boka Kotorskatoday?

[Djukanovic] We are doing our best to develop Montenegro as a civic state. Of course, Montenegro was also put to the test by the horror happening around us. There were ethnic emigrations. According to our registers, some 200 Croats have left Boka in the past several years for various reasons. One must not underestimate the economic ones. Many people have exchanged their property in Montenegro for the property of the Serbs who have come from Croatia. We have been doing our best, and will continue to do so, in order to provide Croats, as well as the other citizens of Montenegro, full legal protection and safety. This has been particularly true over the last year or two.

[Kolovrat] Let us take a look back at the events from 1991 and 1992, and the dishonorable role of the Montenegrins in the war against Croatia, particularly in the attacks on Dubrovnik.

[Djukanovic] The story from 1991 also has its background. For instance, in 1990, the president of our republic, upon his return from Zagreb, where the presidents of all republics of the former Yugoslavia met, submitted his report to parliament in which he said that the president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Croatia—I think it was Zarko Domljan at that time—had said that Boka Kotorska belonged to Croatia.

The evolution of conflicts can be explained with a multitude ofarguments, even with that, at a certain point in time, strong Croatian army forces were concentrated at the border. At that time, there were really no provocations from Montenegro.

In the end, the conflict occurred, and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] took part in it. There were both Montenegrins and Serbs in the JNA forces, but there were also others who have gradually withdrawn, as the former Yugoslav republics have grown independent. Montenegro has never had any kind of military or paramilitary formations and has never waged any kind of war against Croatia. We withdrew from Croatia, within the JNA, on the day of Croatia's international recognition.

Some damage has probably been done in Dubrovnik, particularly in Konavle. I know that it has received strong media attention, but at some point in time I had the impression that everthing was exaggerated. Worse things happened in the war, in Vukovar, in Mostar, and elsewhere.

"Exaggerated" Damage

[Kolovrat] With the Yugoslav Army's offensive against Croatia in the south, a large part of Croatia's national and cultural heritage has ended in Montenegro. Many works of art have been stored in the Montenegrin Ministry of Culture. What can you tell us about it?

[Djukanovic] It so happens that some Croatian property wound up here, so it was given to state organs or appropriate institutions for safekeeping. There was a commitment to see that as soon as the conditions were created, the property was returned. I tell you that there is not one piece of Croatian property that was under state control that has not been returned. I do not know if there is any such Croatian property in private hands, appropriated wrongfully on the battlefield.

[Kolovrat] How real are your conflicts with President Milosevic? Are they only preelection tactics or a reflection of relations between Serbia and Montenegro?

[Djukanovic] I never completely agreed or disagreed with Slobodan Milosevic on everything. I agree with some political activities and disagree with others. If I believe that Milosevic has a good policy in one case, I support him. If believe his policy is not good, I do not have to agree with it.

I think that such claims come from critical circles that are fighting the Montenegrin leadership. On the one hand, they try to denounce it as pro-Milosevic, and on the other as anti-Milosevic. We conduct our own policy. We are neither pro- nor anti-Milosevic.

[Kolovrat] Serbian and Montenegrin media have reproached you by saying that your brother was guilty of illegal enrichment during the war.

[Djukanovic] I have publicly spoken about it on several occasions. Such claims were made by both the Serbian press and opposition Montenegrin media. They did not accuse only my brother but my whole family, even my friends. Since my activities are public, I insist that both my brother, as well as any other citizen of this state, respect its laws. My brother himself is responsibile for his own behavior, and he does not receive any privileges because I am the prime minister.

[Kolovrat] Your alleged conflicts with Mirjana Markovic-Milosevic have also been frequently mentioned in the media, as well as the problems at Serbian

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Television, where you have not been presented sufficiently, neither you nor Montenegrin state policy.

[Djukanovic] I am not in conflict with Mrs. Milosevic. She is the head of an insignificant, marginal political project. I work with the politically relevant people. The leadership of Belgrade Television independently decides how much it will present Milo Djukanovic's stands, or the stands of the Montenegrin Government, or the Montenegrin state organs. My job is primarily to bring as much true information on Montenegro into the international market as possible. If Belgrade Television makes inappropriate selections, it only pauperizes the information market.

[Kolovrat] The crisis in the federation of Serbia and Montenegro is more than obvious today. They call you secessionists. Whom do those 65,000 federal troops in Montenegro represent? The construction of navy harbors on the coast where the best Montenegrin summer resorts used to be is also disputable.

[Djukanovic] Nobody experiences the Yugoslav Army as occupiers, nor is that army here in any way to control Montenegrin policy. Even if it were their intention, they would not be able to do it because they have no such rights under the Constitution.

We conduct our state policy independently, and the constitutional position of the army is known. It really does not exceed the framework of its constitutional authorities. Regarding the deployment of the navy, Yugoslavia and Montenegro are maritime countries, like Croatia, and every country that has a sea must also have a navy. That navy has to be deployed somewhere. It is another matter whether it will be in the existing locations or in some new ones. However, the locations for their deployment will be decided upon by the Montenegrin Government.

Montenegro: Bulatovic, Opposition To Discuss Electoral Changes

AU1706123696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 17 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 17 Jun (BETA)—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic has called a meeting with the representatives of the opposition parties at 1700 [1500 GMT] today at which they will examine their objections to the proposal of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) to change certain provisions of the Law on Election of Councillors and Deputies.

In light of this proposal, the presidents of the National Party, the Liberal Alliance, and the Social Democratic Party, Novak Kilibarda, Slavko Perovic, and Zarko Rakicevic respectively, issued two open letters to Bulatovic in which they stated their objections to the proposed changes.

The Montenegrin president invited the signatories of the letters, as well as the Montenegrin Assembly Speaker Svetozar Marovic and Predrag Bulatovic, president of DPS Club of Deputies, to attend the meeting to discuss these problems once again, on the eve of the session of the Federal Assembly Chamber of Citizens.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Regards Demands for Kosovo Secession as 'Old Ploy'

AU1506183896 Tirana ATA in English 1504 GMT 15 Jun 96

[Report by B. Jashari]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prishtina, June 15 (ATA)—An independent and neutral Kosova, open to Albania and Serbia, is the best solution, whereas its division is not taken into account because it is neither in the interest of Albanians nor of Serbs, President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, said in a news conference on Friday [14 June].

Dr. Rugova commented the latest debates on Kosova in the Serb Academy of Sciences and other pronouncements on these issue in Serbia.

"The request in the Serb Academy of Science Assembly to negotiate Kosova's independence means that the political consciousness of the Serb elite has begun to change," Rugova said.

"Their awareness that Kosova is not a local issue but an international one is very positive," said Rugova.

Rugova regarded the demands for Kosova's separation as "an old ploy," played since in 1920 in the Versailles Peace, in 1945, and several years ago by Qosic (Serb academician and former Yugoslav president), who also officially introduced this idea in Geneva to the co-chairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, Vance and Owen, who refused it categorically.

Reminding the fact that the demands for Kosova's division stem from the envy for its vast assets, covered by Serb myths, Rugova made known his already known position for Kosova's indivisibility.

"Kosova has its own borders and territory. It has been a former federal unit. Even after former Yugoslavia's disintegration we have not asked that the Kosova territory be changed, although we have other Albanian ethnic territories beyond our borders, because such demands would produce a new problem," he said.

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The reporters were mainly interested in the forewarning that the office of Carl Bildt, the Contact Group, would undertake a serious initiative for the solution of the Kosova issue.

Kosovo: LPK Calls on U.S. To Correct 'Erroneous Stance'

AU1606203696 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 15 Jun 96 p 3

[Statement by the Popular Movement of Kosova: "Possibilities To Correct Mistakes on Kosovo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We hail the opening of the U.S. cultural and information office in Prishtina [Pristina] with the conviction that this office will properly report on developments in Kosova. The Popular Movement of Kosova [LPK] is conscious that the U.S. office cannot come out in opposition to the U.S. stance on Kosova. And the U.S. position on this issue is known: the establishment of autonomy for Kosova within the framework of Serbian jurisdiction, with which the people of Kosova will never agree. However, we would like to think that the United States maintained this unfair stance in the absence of concrete, precise, and timely information from sources with regard to developments in Kosova. The U.S. office is called upon to play precisely this role, that of providing proper information. With such information the United States is given the possibility, if they have the good will, to correct their erroneous stance and recognize the independence of Kosova as the sole guarantee for establishing peace and calm in the region. These are the reasons that the LPK welcomes the presence of the international information offices in Kosova, not only by the United States but also by other countries that would like to be objectively informed.

Some Albanian political groups try to exaggerate the role of the representational offices of other countries in Kosova, going so far as to speculate that this presence is a recognition of independence. These groups argue that Rugova's policy has not proved fruitful. In reality, the presence of other countries could only have been established at an official level with an independent Kosova under circumstances in which our people had increased their efforts for the country's liberation.

For the moment, the U.S. office has been established in Kosova according to an agreement between the United States and Serbia. Milosevic will attempt at first to misinform and exploit the office for his own aims, and at the most appropriate occasion will try to remove the office from Kosova, as he did in 1993 by expelling the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] office that was established in Kosova.

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